The German Tribune

Hamburg, 28 February 1988
Twenty-seventh year - No. 1312 - By air

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858

Washington visit clarifies where Bonn stands



The confusing clamour of Western strategic debate has sounded like the noise of a distant battle in recent weeks.

We have only a limited idea of what is at stake and sometimes suspect grave misunderstandings or serious mistakes may be involved.

Almost incomprehensibly for the layman, there is simultaneous talk of scrapping thousands of existing nuclear missiles and introducing new ones.

Unusual front-line alliances have emerged, with "conservative" Christian Democrats seeming to make common cause with "progressive" Social Democrats against the rest of the world.

The visit to Washington by Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher served the sole purpose of ending the general confusion at least in one place and in one respect.

The US administration was to be left in no doubt where Bonn stood in this confusion. The Chancellor took the Foreign Minister with him to demonstrate coalition unity.

The Americans have long been particularly mistrustful of Herr Genscher, constantly suspecting him of giving the East the glad eye.

Confusion arises from the West trying to solve two major problems simultaneously.

An avalanche of nuclear disarmament on the move can no longer be stopped. Now the US and Soviet leaders have agreed to scrap their medium-range missiles in the 500-5,500km range, agreement is envisaged in the months ahead on halving long-range missiles.

All over the world the impression gained is that it can only be a matter of time before the superpowers agree to scrap nuclear weapons entirely.

The other problem the West is keen to solve is that of maintaining Western military security, especially in Western Europe.

Most politicians and nearly all military men feel not all nuclear weapons can be scrapped, certainly not as long as Soviet tank armies in Europe are so powerful that they might overrun Nato forces.

So many Christian Democrats — and other Europeans — were far from enthusiastic about the initial prospect of Pershing missiles being scrapped after the decision to station them in Europe had been so tough to reach.

They were certainly not keen on President Reagan's decision to consider the Soviet proposal to scrap shorter-range missiles.

That leaves only nuclear bombers and land-based missiles with a range of up to 500km, and they are the main bone of contention in the West.

America, Britain and France are firmly resolved to keep these short-range missiles out of all further disarmament agreements.

If it were up to them, no matter how often Mr Gorbachov offered to scrap these missiles or demanded their elimination, the West would have nothing to do with the idea.

They see the 500km range as a "fire curtain" at which nuclear disarmament is to be brought to a halt.

The Americans in particular have a special reason. As Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci plainly noted, US troops could hardly stay in Europe without the nuclear deterrent.

President Reagan and Chancellor Kohl at the White House (Photo: dpa)

Leading Christian Democrats hold a different viewpoint. They feel there cannot be a "fire curtain" and talks must be *held about shorter-range range nuclear* weapons.

They say there must be no question of the nuclear missiles that remain in Central Europe being capable of reaching targets in none but the two German states.

That would leave the Germans in a unique and special position, a "singular" situation, that of being alone in Europe in facing such a massive threat.

This line of argument is supported by virtually no other country or government.

It is rightly argued that even if further disarmament moves went ahead as planned short-range weapons would by no means be the only nuclear weapons in the world.

Germany would continue to be *threatened* by long-range Soviet missiles and modern strategic bombers. So would Britain, France, Holland, Belgium and others. So there could be no question of a German "singularity."

In Washington Chancellor Kohl said this was a pointless discussion at an inappropriate time.

He sensibly refrained from any mention of alleged German "singularity," merely hinting that negotiations on short-range nuclear weapons might be held at some future date.

This was to reassure the Americans, who insist that a "modernisation" of weapons in this category is indispensable.

Besides, Herr Kohl was keen to counteract the impression that some of his fellow-Christian Democrats tended to feel, with Egon Bahr and other Social Democrats, they would be only too happy to see more and more US nuclear weapons withdrawn from Europe.

Reassurance on this point was essential if US distrust of German policy was to be dispelled.

The Chancellor is clearly keen to gain time. At present the Bonn government is understandably appalled at the mere prospect of a further round of missile modernisation.

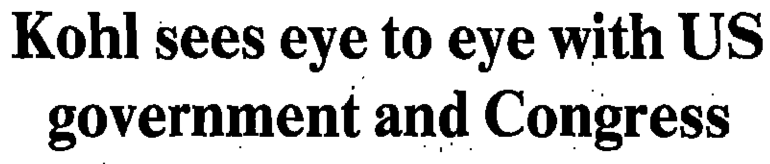
It is evidently hoping against hope that Mr Gorbachov can be persuaded to support a drastic reduction in conventional, non-nuclear forces, which would change the situation entirely.

This hope is as yet an extremely vague one. Conventional disarmament would be much more difficult to achieve than the present nuclear arms limitation.

Wolfgang Wagner
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 20 February 1988)

IN THIS ISSUE

Kohl sees eye to eye with US government and Congress



Helmut Kohl's Washington visit was a success, with America and Germany bound in the circumstances to seek and testify to maximum harmony.

In a promising, if difficult phase of East-West rapprochement the West inevitably feels even more strongly than usual the need to speak with one voice, heedless of internal disputes, in the dialogue with the East.

Yet problems exist. The debate on the future role of short-range missiles, stationed almost entirely in Germany, is by no means over.

It reflects clear differences of interest even though common interests may be more comprehensive.

Yet earlier heated debate on short-range weapons gave way to sweetness and light in Washington, doubtlessly due in part to Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher.

With his overall disarmament concept the Chancellor stole a march on (and met half-way) those who are keen to see swift modernisation of short-range weapons with no reduction in number of "battlefield" weapons stationed mainly in Germany.

His concept certainly brought peace and quiet into the short-range debate without sounding too much like mere playing for time.

For the time being at least the Americans have thus shown that they take Bonn seriously and are prepared to take German political needs into account.

What is more, it was particularly pleasant for Herr Kohl to be welcomed with keen interest and in strength by both the US government and Congress, which is much more prim and proper than the US administration in this respect.

On this visit to Washington he was a "wanted" man.

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 20 February 1988)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

West need not fear fresh missile talks

Walther Stützle, writer of this article, is head of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI).

Do we face the daunting prospect of another missile debate? With the treaty aimed at consigning land-based intermediate-range nuclear missiles to the trash can of history still not ratified the West already seems intent on negotiating a further agreement on short-range missiles.

It took nearly a decade of strenuous political efforts to persuade the Soviet Union to agree to this initial disarmament success.

Yet less than three months after the signing of the medium-range missile treaty at the White House, Washington and Bonn in particular appear to have succeeded in dimming memories of this initial success by clashing over short-range missiles.

Has Western security policy grown so concerned with details that it has lost sight of the whole? Is the wealth of domestic and foreign policy experience on missile topics, often painfully gained, simply to be set aside as though the last thing that was to be done with lessons was to learn them?

Do advocates of the missile range debate fail to realise that in signing the Washington treaty Mr Gorbachov prescribed for the Soviet Union a change of course in foreign policy that will least be put to the test by a missile debate in the West?

Ought the West to dispense with nuclear missiles and artillery shells with ranges of less than 500km at the end of the decade, once medium-range missiles have been scrapped?

Whether or not it should do so can surely not depend solely on a decision reached by Nato Defence Ministers in Montebello, Canada, in 1983 on modernising short-range weapons.

The crucial consideration must surely be for resolutions once reached to be liable to agreements to amend them, as opposed to going it alone, should changes in the political environment necessitate a reappraisal.

Yet senior US Defence Department officials suspect a wide range of political opinion in Bonn of wanting to do just that: go it alone.

Leading CDU/CSU politicians such as Alfred Dregger and Volker Rühe stand accused. So do FDP Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and leading Social Democrats such as Hans-Jochen Vogel and Egon Bahr.

The 25th international defence policy congress in Munich made this point particularly apparent, with many influential US observers evidently feeling upset at the common viewpoints shared by representatives of different political parties represented in the Bonn Bundestag.

This striking loss in clarity of vision by Bonn's major ally gives cause for alarm.

True, at first glance it must come as a surprise to see Christian Democrat Alfred Dregger and Social Democrat Egon Bahr endorsing one and the same security policy argument.

But the next question must be why they are agreed, and the answer is presumably that years of dispute about medium-range missiles, partly at party-political daggers drawn, have depleted the stockpiles of material suitable for confrontation in Bonn and resurrected the desire for a common viewpoint on security policy.

If these harbingers of security policy consensus were to grow into fully-fledged, reliable political agreement, US observers for one ought to be delighted.

The answers the Atlantic alliance must seek in the wake of the Washington medium-range missile treaty will be easier to find on the basis of a desire to find common ground.

In dealings with the Soviet Union and its allies the more impervious these answers are to domestic party-political vicissitudes, the sounder and more reliable they will be.

In both Ostpolitik and Deutschlandpolitik we have seen how policies courageously inaugurated by one coalition can be successfully continued by its successor to the benefit of all.

The most important question to be asked is what part the nuclear factor is to play until such time as a nuclear-free world is a realistic option.

The answer to this question must end all doubt, especially deep-seated reciprocal doubts in Washington and Bonn, where each suspects the other of merely wanting to reduce its own nuclear risk at the other's expense.

There can no longer be the least doubt that substantially fewer nuclear weapons can now be used to generate no less security.

Where doubts arise is on how much security is sufficient. What is more, might not nuclear weapons be subjected to much more rigorous political control?

Does the fundamental difference between nuclear and conventional weapons not warrant the establishment of a separate and distinct nuclear force the deployment and target planning of

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

which ought to be subject to the most stringent political control by all countries affected?

Another option would be to ban the stationing of nuclear weapons on land and limit them to airborne and naval carriers.

It would be dishonest to dismiss such ideas with reference to the slogan "denuclearisation of Europe" or "decoupling Europe from America."

Last not least, consideration must be given to which of these tasks is best handled by the West on its own and which needs to be dealt with in East-West negotiations.

The only point that is patently clear at present is that any attempt to steamroller the 1983 Montebello decision to modernise short-range weapons would be tantamount to flexing political muscle to the exclusion of political thought.

There can be no ruling out the possibility that Mr Gorbachov, especially in the wake of the devastating Chernobyl disaster, is also considering ways and means of more effectively controlling all uses of atomic energy.

Bavarian Premier and CSU leader Franz Josef Strauss has certainly mentioned in public impressions of this kind he gained from his talk with the Soviet leader just after Christmas.

It is hard to say whether an East-West identity of interest and a further treaty eliminating other categories of nuclear

Continued on page 6

Middle East conference might well be worth a try

UN Middle East envoy Goulding has left Lebanon for talks in Syria. Premier Shamir of Israel was in Italy for talks on the Middle East conflict.

US Secretary of State Shultz may well visit the Middle East soon to sound out possibilities of settling the dust of unrest in Palestine and to discuss a solution of the entire conflict.

President Mubarak recently returned to Egypt from an extended tour of the West, while King Hussein of Jordan even conferred with European Community Foreign Ministers meeting in Bonn.

So there is no shortage of diplomatic activities aimed at bringing about a settlement of the conflict, but the unrest continues, claiming more victims by the day.

The idea of holding an international Middle East conference under the UN aegis has emerged as little short of a magic spell.

It would be attended by the permanent members of the UN Security Council and all parties to the Middle East conflict, including the PLO.

European Community Foreign Ministers recently reiterated their call for a conference to be held on this basis. Arab politicians constantly do so.

As violence continues there has been something approaching an erosion of public opinion on the subject in Israel. A growing number of Israelis agree with Foreign Minister Peres that an international conference ought to be given a try.

Premier Shamir continues to rule out the idea and came under heavy fire on this score in Rome.

An international conference still seems a distant prospect, especially as Israel first wants to normalise relations with the Soviet Union (not to mention other obstacles, such as who is to represent the Palestinians).

Yet it looks as though some such international gathering is inevitable. The problem is the way in which everyone refers to the international Middle East conference as though it were almost a magic spell, thereby setting exaggerated store by it.

Such inordinate hopes merely testify to the hopeless mess the situation is in. Difficulties would begin in earnest if a conference were to be held.

What is to be discussed? Self-government the Palestinians don't want? A Palestinian state to which a majority of Israelis are opposed?

The Palestinians recently made it clear that they are only prepared to a limited extent to accept King Hussein as their spokesman. So the idea of a merger of the occupied territories with Jordan is presumably ruled out too.

The Palestinians, inasmuch as they are prepared to come to terms with Israel, have lately stressed the equation of land in return for peace and security.

In return for its acceptance of a State of Palestine Israel would be given internationally-backed guarantees of its existence and territorial integrity.

Yet who, among the overwhelming majority of Israelis, wants to strike this bargain? Besides, is it not far too late to return the occupied territories to the Arabs?

Quite apart from strategic considerations on the Israeli leadership's part, could *any* Israeli government negotiate on Judaea and Samaria, as the Israelis call the West Bank?

The West Bank isn't the Sinai, and when Israel withdrew from the Sinai it found it hard enough to leave the last settlements, such as Yamit.

Judaea and Samaria are much more important for the Jews by virtue of the Biblically-motivated national consensus most Israelis acknowledge.

Old Testament patriarchs such as Abraham are buried in Hebron, which could hardly be surrendered without at least a storm of protest.

The stiffest resistance would be likely on what would be far from the only problem.

Years ago Deputy Mayor Benvenisti of Jerusalem published a report on the West Bank which arrived at the conclusion that the Israeli settlement policy had already wrought irrevocable changes in the infrastructure of the occupied territories.

They were now so inseparably interlinked with Israel, the report found, that to return them seemed out of the question.

Yet the Arab population will not be satisfied with anything less than what, in any case, would be a small and fragmented Palestinian state.

President Mubarak's adviser Usama al Baz recently stated, in an interview with the *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, that Israelis and Palestinians would one day have to live with each other.

The Palestinians, he said, had learnt a lesson or two and were now *prepared to* consider realistic proposals.

In Israel this is widely felt not to be the case, wrongly so perhaps, but widely enough to need to be taken into account.

Besides, fears that the unrest which has swept the West Bank and the Gaza Strip for the past two months might boost the reputation of more militant Palestinian groups cannot be dismissed out of hand.

They might well argue that years of diplomatic overtures had been to no avail, leaving them with no choice but to continue to use force in the pursuit of their maximum objective of destroying Israel.

The greater the difficulties Israel encounters in the occupied territories, the greater this risk of renewed extremism will grow, especially as it has become clear in recent weeks that Arabs living in Israel are far from integrated.

The Arab world, it must be added, also faces imponderables. Its main demand is for the staging of an international Middle East conference, but it doesn't really want to see a Palestinian state set up.

Israel's neighbours in particular would view a State of Palestine as an overwhelming revolutionary threat.

Wolfgang Günter Lerch

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 19 February 1988)

The German Tribune

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH, 3-4 Hartwicusstrasse D-2000 Hamburg 76, Tel.: 22 85 1, Telex 02-14733.

Editor-in-chief: Otto Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anthony. English language sub-editor: Simon Burnett (on extended leave). — Distribution manager: Georgine Picone.

Advertising rates list No. 15
Annual subscription DM 45

Printed by CW Niemeyer-Druck, Hameln.

Distributed in the USA by: MASS MAILINGS, Inc., 540 West 24th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.

Articles in THE GERMAN TRIBUNE are translated from the original text and published by agreement with leading newspapers in the Federal Republic of Germany.

In all correspondence please quote your subscription number which appears on the wrapper, between asterisks, above your address.

■ PARTY POLITICS

All is quiet in the SPD, but strategy debate continues

Peace and quiet reign at present so supreme in the SPD as to make some pundits, not to mention Social Democrats themselves, feel the situation is utterly unreal.

Only a year ago, just after North Rhine-Westphalian Premier Johannes Rau had led the party to a general election defeat, Saar Premier Oskar Lafontaine was busy trying to canvass support for SPD coalitions with the Greens and to build himself up as next in line to lead the SPD.

All that is now forgotten as Herr Lafontaine obediently beavers away on the party's long-term policy commission, while in day-to-day politics he has more than enough to keep him busy as Prime Minister of the Saar.

Other SPD leaders are similarly preoccupied. Björn Engholm is in the throes of a state assembly election campaign in Schleswig-Holstein.

Gerhard Schröder in neighbouring Lower Saxony is occasionally summoned to Bonn for a press conference on, say, the proposed radioactive waste disposal facility at Gorleben — so as not to be completely forgotten in Bonn.

Herr Rau in Düsseldorf has no plans to move to Bonn; he sees North Rhine-Westphalia's problems as far too pressing to leave him time to toy with other ideas.

Mayor Dohnanyi of Hamburg is as ambitious as ever but does not see himself as a rival to Hans-Jochen Vogel for the SPD leadership in Bonn.

Mayor Wedemeier of Bremen leads an SPD with an absolute majority in the state assembly but is not felt to be in the running for either party leader or Shadow Chancellor.

Younger men, such as Dieter Spöri in Baden-Württemberg, Rudolf Scharping in the Rhineland-Palatinate and Peter Glotz in Southern Bavaria (young in his case meaning a newcomer to his present job), are all far too busy consolidating their positions.

So Herr Vogel has no need to fear debates about his style of leadership.

Yet the present peace and quiet is not the hallmark of a silent spring. The discipline Herr Vogel enforces is not so rigorous as to rule out the drafting and presentation of proposals and counter-proposals.

The Seeheim group, representing centre-right opinion in the SPD, has discovered the discreet charm of drawing up policy drafts.

The pessimistic Irsee draft has been scrapped and Egon Lutz, the SPD left-winger, has edited it so heavily that only a slender paper has survived.

Erhard Eppler seems more interested in disputes with the SED or in essays about Glotz or Zwerenz than in rewriting the SPD's manifesto, while Willy Brandt has been entrusted with supervising the party's 125th anniversary celebrations.

Bundestag backbenchers Herr Vogel has yet to promote to lieutenant (or maybe a senior administrative grade in the civil service would be an apter comparison) include Hermann Scheer.

He has noted more than once, with mixed feelings of pleasure and anger, that better-known politicians such as Peter Glotz and Egon Bahr have borrowed ideas from his book *Die Befreiung von der Bombe* (Liberation from the Bomb) without quoting their source.

He says Egon Bahr, for instance, borrowed from the book his latest proposal for separate peace treaties to be signed with the two German states.

Scheer's problem, one he shares with members of all parties in the Bonn Bundestag, is that of breaking out of a two-fold spiral of silence: being ignored by the media unless they are acknowledged as party-political spokesmen or experts in their subject.

Media exposure is mainly a privilege enjoyed by better-known Opposition leaders such as Horst Ehmke and Egon Bahr, while the SPD is particularly hidebound in the Bundestag by Herr Vogel's insistence on members speaking on subjects for which they are, as it were, responsible.

He has called many an SPD MP to order for speaking out of turn on issues about which he was not authorised to speak on the party's behalf.

Herr Scheer has circularised to a number of SPD members of the Bundestag a seemingly harmless internal discussion paper entitled "On Activity Orientation and Key Issues of Social Democratic Foreign Policy."

He makes no mention of Herr Vogel or of SPD foreign and security policy specialists such as Horst Ehmke, Egon Bahr and Hans Koschnick, but he clearly takes up cudgels not only with American "old boys" such as Henry Kissinger but with the "old boy" network in the SPD.

He feels Social Democratic foreign policy is too government-orientated, as evidenced by the party's own foreign relations.

Since 1969, he argues, the SPD has sought to foster change by means of intergovernmental relations. It continued to pursue this policy even after forfeiting power in Bonn in 1982.

This governmental approach is said to convey an impression of public restraint, as opposed to demonstrative support for human rights movements or for democratic socialism in Warsaw Pact countries, such as the Charter 77 movement in Czechoslovakia.

The SPD, he says, must aim at greater clarity than the government in presenting its aims and policy objectives. Herr Scheer takes a dim view of the common foreign policy ground sought by Herr Ehmke, Herr Bahr and Herr Dregger, leader of the CDU/CSU parliamentary party.

Again without mentioning Herr Vogel by name he alludes to the SPD leader's travel diplomacy, with its undeniable emphasis on government contacts.

Herr Vogel is scheduled to confer with both General Secretary Gorbachov and President Reagan again this year. The SPD, Scheer says, is engaged in a constant quest for high-calibre contacts.

By doing so it is running a grave risk of overstretching itself, of losing profile rather than gaining it and of going all out for government contacts.

He lists a number of unanswered questions and contradictions in connection with SPD policy.

They relate to the self-determination of Western Europe, to Franco-German ties, to the nuclear deterrent and to new weapon systems, to Bonn's (and Western Europe's) relations with China, to European integration and to international organisations.

The SPD parliamentary party, he argues, must basically surmount the isolated activity of working parties. "We have many good and hard-working soloists but no guarantee of a good orchestra," he says.

"The Federal government has come to adopt such a realistic approach to the conduct of foreign affairs that the SPD finds it hard to maintain a clear policy line of its own."

Where the Federal government lacks realism is in its perception of problems, and this is the context in which Herr Scheer has hopes of an SPD foreign and security policy renewal.

He feels the SPD-SED paper's tenets are universally valid and ought to be applied to relations with, say, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

"It would be conducive to the credibility of our Ostpolitik," he says, "if we were to spearhead criticism of this kind."

The Scheer paper shows signs of having been written in haste. It is not lacking in contradictions. But it is also a clear sign of greater activity within the SPD than might from outside appear to be the case.

Helmut Herles

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 12 February 1988)

Greens decide not to let chaos reign

Much to the media's chagrin, the Greens elected their new parliamentary party leadership in Bonn behind closed doors.

There were no heated conference speeches to edit for radio and no pictures of delegates wearing tennis shoes, eating muesli or knitting pullovers for TV.

It looked as though listeners and viewers were for once to be deprived of what they had grown accustomed to expect of the Greens.

Luckily, perhaps, the conference venue, a boathouse and restaurant on the right bank of the Rhine, opposite Bonn, was picturesque.

Luckily, perhaps, members of both the *Realo* and *Fundi* wings of the Greens emerged at regular intervals from the "smokeless" proceedings for a quick cigarette and a few well-chosen words for the waiting microphones.

The waiting journalists filled in the time by joking at length about a *Fasching* event advertised at the door of the Haus am Rhein.

The carnival event advertised was entitled *Der blaue Affe* (The Blue Monkey), providing an opportunity for belaboured puns about whether chaos now reigned supreme among the Greens.

(In case you wonder what the pun is, it doesn't work in English and really isn't worth explaining.)

Besides, the parliamentary party proceedings held, for once, in camera were anything but chaotic. They were quieter, more thoughtful and better disciplined than comparable conferences of the full party.

They also came to a swifter conclusion despite taking over four hours to debate the pros and cons of voting for a block of candidates as proposed by an "independent" faction.

This proposal was eventually rejected, gaining surprisingly little support when votes were finally cast. Spokesperson Claudia Roth felt the proceedings could last until well after midnight.

But they didn't. The Greens pulled themselves together and elected a new parliamentary leadership within two hours.

It is neither a middle-of-the-road group of *Zentralos* or *Neutralos* nor a carefully balanced combination of two *Fundis*, two *Realos* and two *Neutralos*.

The new leadership consists of fundamentalists Regula Schmidt-Bott and Ellen Olms, Realpolitik advocates Hubert Kleinert, Christa Vennegerts and Charlotte Garbe and middle-of-the-road Helmut Lippelt, co-sponsor of the *Zentralo* manifesto "Aufbruch '88."

They now plan, unsurprisingly, to do a much better job in every respect than their predecessors (who, incidentally, included Frau Vennegerts and Herr Kleinert).

In particular, they are keen to ensure a greater degree of cooperation within the leadership and of integration within the parliamentary party.

Frau Schmidt-Bott felt the outlook had improved. Was her optimism warranted? That may well depend on the attitude adopted by the "independents," whose proposal was not carried.

Their aim had been to act in response to the appalling picture the parliamentary party presented to the public, with the emphasis less on divergent political positions than on personal jealousies.

Realo Otto Schily may have excelled as a cogent speaker on TV. *Fundi* Thomas Ebermann may have shocked the established parties in the Bundestag with his cynical comments. Other Greens may have gained public acclaim by virtue of their grasp of the subject.

But that did them no good at all in the party. The Greens view individual publicity with suspicion. To be a *Promi*, short for a "promi(nent public figure)," is to court unpopularity with the rank and file.

When the *Realos* played the power card in nominating members of parliamentary committees they were accused of running a card school.

When the *Fundis* resorted to tactical ploys to ensure their very survival, as a minority, they were accused of polarisation.

Leading figures on both sides came in for scathing criticism, the allegation felt to be most serious being that of striving for power.

Factions met regularly; little or nothing was seen or heard of the parliamentary party as a whole.

Small wonder that the rank and file, who periodically resurrect the debate on whether the Greens should be a parliamentary party or an extra-parliamentary Opposition, were strongly critical of, and threatened to part company with, the Green MPs in Bonn.

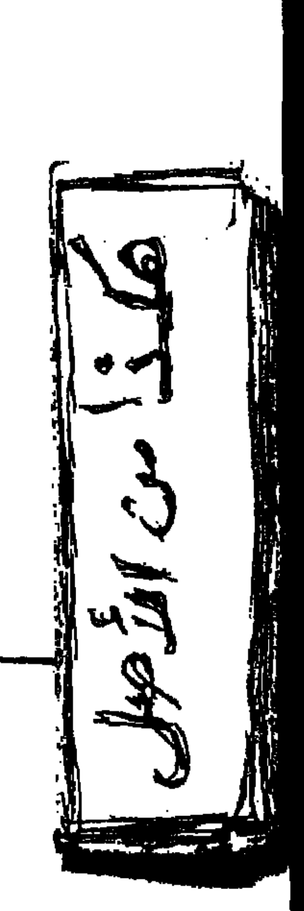
In this precarious situation the group led by Antje Vollmer and Christa Nickels tried to accomplish the impossible, suggesting the election of a "six-pack" of *Zentralos* to lead the parliamentary party.

The Six were to demonstrate solidarity independently of the factions and to get off to a fresh start by concentrating on the issues in hand, thereby scaling down disputes between the wings.

This proposal was felt until the last minute to stand a fifty-fifty chance of succeeding. Its drawback was that the Six were only prepared to be elected *en bloc* and refused to stand for individual election.

There were two evident reasons for

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■ CRIME

Nazi documents stolen for sale on black market

"I'm mad as hell," says Daniel Simon, head of the Berlin Document Center (BDC). Simon, from Louisiana, has been responsible for keeping a wary eye on the millions of Nazi documents in the BDC for almost 14 years.

His colleagues, who were only allowed into the BDC under strict supervision, were certainly convinced that archivist Simon and his 40 mainly German staff exercised extreme caution when dealing with the delicate documentary material.

The 30 million documents from the darkest chapter of German history are kept in a two-storey bunker, the former Gestapo phone-tapping headquarters in the Berlin borough of Zehlendorf.

The area is surrounded by barbed wire and regularly controlled by patrol guards.

Now, however, it looks as if the security precautions weren't good enough. Thousands of documents have disappeared from the BDC during recent years.

The Berlin public prosecutor's office is currently investigating the role played by the German deputy director of the BDC and several antique dealers on suspicion of larceny and/or fraudulent misappropriation and the receiving of stolen goods.

Volker Kühne, spokesman for the Berlin judicial authorities, announced that "several tens of thousands" of original documents might have been stolen from the BDC and sold to collectors at prices of between DM200 and DM500 or even up to DM5,000 in individual cases.

So far 1,500 documents have been found, including a letter from U-boat com-

Süddeutsche Zeitung

mander Captain Prien to his superiors, a letter from Adolf Hitler's personal physician Theo Morell to a senior SS officer in 1944 and a letter written by Rear-Admiral Wilhelm Canaris in 1933.

Insiders noticed that documents had disappeared from the BDC five years ago. Berlin's public prosecutor's office also began investigations at that time.

Volker Kähne announced that investigations against "persons unknown" had been conducted between the end of 1983 and mid-1986, but that the scale of thefts was not known.

Investigations were only resumed in summer 1987 following an anonymous tip. The chief suspect, the deputy director of the BDC, has since been suspended from office.

According to the *Berliner Morgenpost*, the newspaper which first publicised details of the scandal, some of the documentary material was stolen "on order" and used for blackmail.

Volker Kähne, however, has discovered no evidence so far of blackmail attempts.

At the moment conjecture abounds. Even the trials of the man behind the fake Hitler diaries, Konrad Kujau, and the former reporter of *Stern* magazine, Gerd Heidemann, have again been mentioned.

It already became clear during the Kujau trial that he had received documents from the BDC. This was the material he offered to Heidemann.

Heidemann's lawyer, Gerhard Strate, told our newspaper that, in the light of these new investigations, he intends applying for a reopening of proceedings against Heidemann.

Kujau, on the other hand, explained that he received the BDC documents, which he claimed was "trivial material" such as "the wordings of special oaths" for joining the senior ranks of the Waffen-SS, from a state railway employee.

The entire Nazi party files are kept in the BDC. The archives consist of blue, yellow and green file cards with the names of 10.7 million party members.

These documents were discovered by a US soldier in 1945 in a paper mill near Munich. The miller, a man named Huber, was ordered by the Nazis to destroy the documents, but was unable to carry out the order before US troops moved in.

The BDC also stores the personnel files of the SS, the Waffen-SS and the Storm Troopers (SA), as well as files on marriage applications at the *Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt*.

Then there are files of the highest party court with assessments of party judges, files on the People's Court and 2.5 million documents on the naturalisation of ethnic Germans from the occupied territories. All in all, 30 million files and roughly 150 million documents.

Some of these files contain very personal information. Party files, for example, record details on fertility and a person's reputation.

Access to this material, which is of considerable value to research scientists, has often been a bone of contention in the past.

Research institutes from Western countries other than the Federal Republic of Germany, in particular US institutes such as the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, have had the least problems in this respect.

These institutes can apply directly to the American director of the BDC.

The situation is more difficult for West German researchers, even though the person responsible for their applications, the "Plenipotentiary of the Federal Government in Berlin, Interior Department", for many years pursued a liberal line in the rules of use of the Federal Archives.

The authority can now refer to the Federal Archives Act adopted in autumn last year.

Up to now, the Berlin authority has been least accommodating in its response to requests from Berlin.

As archives regulations for the *Land* of Berlin have yet to be adopted the Berlin Senate politician responsible for decisions in this field, Rolf-Peter Magen, strictly applies the letter of the second law on the conclusion of denazification.

According to this law, access to the files is mainly afforded to certain courts and authorities and only rarely to individuals.

With the exception of the cases of prominent NSDAP members Magen demands the consent of direct relatives before permitting access to personal files.

Many a graduate and researcher have failed to get the information they require because of these strict guidelines.

Following the announcement of the missing files, the chairman of Berlin's Jewish community, Heinz Galinski, also complained that he has so far been denied access to BDC documents.

A discussion on the BDC again raises the question why it is still under American control.

The Americans asked the Federal government in Bonn whether it would like to take over the BDC in 1967.

At that time, however, it was reported that the Bonn government was unwilling to accept Washington's demand for unrestricted access to the documentary material for American scientists because of the principle of sovereignty.

A few years later the argument advanced was that Bonn did not want to create political problems during the run-up period to the Four-Power Berlin negotiations by setting up another Federal government institution in the city.

In 1979 Bonn Interior Minister Gerhart Baum announced that the BDC would be taken over by the Berlin branch of the Federal Administrative Office in 1981.

This, said Baum, had been agreed by the Bonn Foreign Ministry, the Bonn Interior Ministry, the Federal Archives in Koblenz and American authorities. Nothing came of this announcement.

In autumn 1985 the US ambassador in Bonn, Richard Burt, again indicated the USA's willingness to hand over the BDC to the Germans.

At the same time Mr Burt requested the provision of funds for the microfilming of the archives. At some time in the future, the idea is to store the microfilms in Washington.

So far, roughly 60 per cent of the BDC material has been microfilmed; the rest is expected to take three to four years.

The funds have been available since 1985 but have not yet been utilised.

The director of the BDC is not yet willing to make a statement on a takeover, since negotiations between the American and German authorities are still in progress.

As so often in cases in which Allied and German laws overlap, the German authorities refer to the jurisdiction of the Americans and the American authorities to the jurisdiction of the Germans.

Marianne Heuwagen
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 17 February 1988)

Buddy, can you spare a file?

Some of the documents stolen from the American Document Center in West Berlin have been openly offered for sale in the catalogues of document dealers.

This was announced by the president of the Federal Archives in Koblenz, Hans Booms.

"Some of the documents were advertised in antiquarian catalogues, and historians have pointed out that they have seen these documents before in the Document Center," he said.

On 29 May 1987 the Federal Archives received a copy of an antiquarian catalogue published in London.

According to Booms, the catalogue contained a list of original documents in which proposals for the award of the Knight's Cross were presented.

"These documents could only have been taken from personal files kept there (in the Center). Most of the SS files that still exist are in the *Document* Center," Booms emphasised.

Up to now, Bonn has not been able to make up its mind to take over the BDC from the Americans because of fears of domestic policy repercussions. The files are currently being put on microfilm.

Investigations by Berlin's judicial authorities concentrate on a German employee who has been suspended from office.

According to the spokesman of the Berlin judicial authorities, Volker Kähne, the premises of dealers in antiques and things military have been searched in 16 locations.

Almost 1,000 of the 1,500 documents impounded were discovered in a single shop.

Investigations are being conducted on suspicion of offences against property, such as larceny, misappropriation and the receiving of stolen goods.

No evidence has been found so far of attempts to use the documents to blackmail people because of their activities during the Nazi era.

(Die Welt, Bonn, 17 February 1988)

Greens decide not to let chaos reign

Continued from page 3

this approach. One was to bring pressure to bear on fellow-MPs along the lines of "those who aren't for us are against us."

The other was that the Six were convinced they could only give of their best in this configuration. They know and are on good terms with each other, accept their respective private commitments and would have been prepared to stand in for each other.

Luckily, perhaps, they now no longer need to prove their point. Their refusal to stand individually and insistence on the "six-pack" was felt by a majority of Green MPs to be an unacceptable and undemocratic attempt to exert pressure.

Frau Vollmer, whose bid to reconcile the factions was felt by majority opinion to have overstepped the mark, was disappointed — but not very.

Herr Lippelt, who had been backed by the "independents" in the event of their failure, said the *Zentralos* accepted the parliamentary party's verdict and would not retire to their corner to sulk.

It was left to *Fundi* Regula Schmidt-Bott of all people to risk an extremely realistic assessment of the prospects for the newly-elected leadership and the parliamentary party.

Frau Schmidt-Bott, a Hamburg eco-socialist and psychologist by profession, came up with what could well be the only hope the Greens may have of fence-mending in Bonn.

They must, she said, accept as a fact the factions and the different political viewpoints for which they stand. Views differed even more widely in other parties than among the Greens.

There must be no attempt to establish harmony at any price.

What she didn't say, oddly enough, was that there must be no "striving for power" — one of the most heinous charges that can be levelled at a fellow-Green.

For the Greens must strive for power if they take their objectives seriously. How else are they to attain them?

Ada Brandes
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 28 January 1988)

■ DISARMAMENT

Chemical weapons ban: it can be done

President Reagan has promised Chancellor Kohl that America will withdraw US chemical weapons from Germany by 1992 and not station modern, binary weapons in their place. The author of this article, Professor Werner Dosch of Mainz University, takes a closer look at the problem for 'Sonntagsblatt.'

Manufacture of chemical weapons, the new binary variety, was resumed in the United States in mid-December 1987 after a production pause of 18 years.

It is the combination of what, individually, are fairly harmless chemicals that produces lethal toxins, hitherto unknown neurotoxins, in just a few seconds after the projectile has been fired.

The consequences of this change in comparison with previous chemical weapons, which already had toxic content before being launched, are so far-reaching that it no longer seems certain that these new weapons can ever again be scrapped.

The US Congress made the provision of funds for the production of the new chemical weapons contingent on a number of conditions.

One is that President Reagan must obtain the approval of his European allies for the use of these weapons as a Nato alliance objective.

During the world economic summit in Tokyo in February 1986 President Reagan made a "deal" with the representatives of his most powerful Nato ally, Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher of the Federal Republic of Germany.

It was that Bonn should try and enlist the support of the other Nato members for the use of binary weapons as a military objective.

The Americans promised in return to withdraw their obsolete toxic weapons from the Federal Republic of Germany, the only foreign country in which the USA has deployed them, by 1992.

New chemical weapons would only be stationed there with the approval of the Bonn government.

To counter the disgust of a number of allies at the use of chemical weapons their use was endorsed as a military objective in May 1986 at the relatively low level of the Standing Nato Council.

The key to disarmament is control, and nothing is more difficult than controlling the use of chemicals.

The special and isolated factories needed to produce them as well as the special security precautions needed for their transportation and storage cannot be hidden from modern means of national and international inspection.

For military purposes tens of thousands of tonnes of toxic agents need to be stockpiled.

Even stocks far below this level cannot be kept secret, especially if they have to be stored in special depots. This is why control is possible and disarmament works.

After 19 years of negotiations in Geneva the complicated verification rituals of a global condemnation of chemical weapons have been discussed to the full and consensus by and large been reached.

All the conclusion of a chemical weapons convention now needs is a little more than just the political will.

The remaining controversies should be negotiated away as they were by the US and Soviet Foreign Ministers over a single weekend before the INF agreement was reached.

The Soviet Union, which until a few years ago did not even admit to possessing chemical weapons, outlined its chemical munitions and a method of destroying toxic warfare agents at the Geneva disarmament conference at the end of 1987.

Moscow backed down on its inaccessible stance on questions relating to on-site control. It was the first nation to officially announce the extent of its chemical weapons potential.

A figure of at most 50,000 tonnes of toxic agents was claimed, roughly the same as that estimated for the USA.

Due to the traditionally more open information policy in the USA, however, the information on chemical weapons (weapon categories, sites and technologies for the destruction of these weapons) was already known for some time.

The only strictly confidential aspect was everything connected with US toxic gases stockpiled in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Long overdue disarmament in the field of chemical weapons, however, is made more difficult, perhaps even impossible, by the existence of binary weapons, since these can only controlled to a limited extent.

For example, the preliminary-stage production of toxic gas components need no longer take place in special factories.

Binary weapons do not even contain toxic material before they are fired, only separately stored and relatively harmless chemicals.

One of the ingredients of shells containing the binary nerve gas Sarin, which is currently in production, is isopropanol.

This alcohol, which is also used in cosmetics, can neither be controlled nor banned.

What is more, whether the howitzer shells customarily used by Nato are intended for nerve gas use or not is at most indicated by the labelling.

These weapons do not even have to

Continued on page 9

Chemical weapons: existing imbalance

6 | 40,000 tons | Weapons | over 150,000 tons | 12
10 | 1,000 vehicles | Stockpiles | 39 | over 8,000 vehicles
9,000 specialists | over 70,000 specialists
1 | Training battalions | 19

imu 87 03 16

Bonn is keen on phaseout

In a stirring speech to the UN disarmament conference in Geneva Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher promised singlemindedly to work towards an agreement on the total ban of chemical weapons.

The intensity of his commitment is by no means coincidental. People in the Federal Republic of Germany (and, equally, the GDR) would be among those to suffer most in the event of a conflict involving the use of chemical weapons.

Thousands of tonnes of toxic warfare agents are stockpiled on German soil — and it is not even officially known where, even though the Fischbach depot in the Rhineland-Palatinate and other sites in the Rhine-Main region are reputed to stockpile them.

In spring 1986 Nato decided to withdraw these gradually ageing and "unstable" substances (there are a growing number of leaks in containers) from the Federal Republic of Germany by 1992.

Bonn Defence Minister Manfred Wörner has just reaffirmed that the western part of Germany at least would be a chemical weapons-free zone by then.

However, it is too early to talk — as the Bonn coalition does — of a major success.

In 1986 it was also agreed that the USA would resume production of its chemical weapons at the end of 1987 if, by that time, the Soviet Union had not reduced its greater stocks.

What is more, it was also agreed that chemical weapons would only be moved to Europe in a crisis and only with the express approval of the respective countries in which these weapons are to be stationed.

The "rules of the game" according to which such a deployment of chemical weapons would be effected, however, are not clear. When, for example, does a crisis necessitate the use of chemical weapons?

Wouldn't a dramatic move such as the transfer of chemical weapons and chemical bombs additionally exacerbate a strained situation between East and West?

The future role of chemical weapons in a changing Western strategy is also uncertain.

Many US army manuals clearly refer to the "chemical option". Nato doctrine, on the other hand, only refers to a limited retaliation potential if the Warsaw Pact uses chemical weapons first.

Arnd Bäucker
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 6 February 1988)

■ FINANCE

Albrecht stakes cash redistribution claim to redress North-South balance

The poorer German *Länder*, in dire financial straits, have decided to join forces in a bid to improve their lot.

Their aim is to persuade the Federal government in Bonn to shoulder half the burden of social security expenditure that weighs so heavily on them, thereby providing them with a breathing space.

The idea of the poor joining forces was the brainchild of Ernst Albrecht, Christian Democratic Premier of Lower Saxony.

Since his luck turned and his talk of Lower Saxony as an up-and-coming *Land* proved a mere empty phrase he has been troubled by an appalling prospect.

With nothing but bad news coming from neighbouring northern *Länder* he is seriously worried lest the country might sooner or later be split by a north-south divide into unequal halves: a poor north and a prosperous south.

There could be no telling what the consequences might be for political stability. "History shows that no state and no society can withstand such a strain in the long term," he says.

Hesse, Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria, which used to be regarded as the Federal Republic's have-nots, are now basking in a climate of economic boom.

They are so well-heeled they can barely walk. They can afford to pay for virtually anything they consider worthwhile. The others are now saddled with the thankless role of down-at-heel relations. They are short of cash even for essentials.

The seven lean *Länder* (not counting Berlin, which has a special economic and financial role) are caught in a vicious circle.

They can no longer pull themselves out of the mess on their own or without Federal government financial support amounting to more than a few supplementary allocations.

There are three reasons for this alarming state of affairs, for which poor government is only superficially to blame.

The Saar and Rhineland-Palatinate, North Rhine-Westphalia (an erstwhile industrial powerhouse), Bremen, Hamburg, Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein between them account for the lion's share of ailing German industries.

Coal and steel, shipbuilding and shipping, agriculture and fisheries are all in heavy weather and pose serious problems for *Länder* where they are on the decline.

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

This decline in industrial potential leads to a decline in tax revenue at *Land* and local government level. Public spending has to be cut and deficits must increasingly be offset by borrowing.

That is an unsatisfactory state of affairs in itself, quite apart from the fact that debts have to be repaid and impose a burden on future budgets.

At the very time when pumps badly need priming the funds required are not available to invest in economic restructuring and, say, attract companies manufacturing new products designed to meet future demand and creating safe new jobs.

The third and most alarming consequence is that in these disadvantaged parts of the country more and more people are finding themselves out of work — and permanently unemployed.

Once they have drawn unemployment benefit for the full period to which they are entitled their names are deleted from Labour Office records and they must sign on for social security instead.

Unemployment benefits are paid by the Federal Labour Office, Nuremberg, social security benefits by the *Land* and local authorities, which in turn are less able to invest in public works.

It is a grotesque state of affairs for there to be a shortage of skilled workers in the Stuttgart area while thousands face the sack in the Ruhr as it reels under the blows of the coal and steel crisis and one East Frisian in three of working age has been out of work for some time.

Facts and figures generally have a more impressive ring than fine words, so Premier Albrecht made sure he was well supplied by officials at the Lower Saxon State Chancellery and Finance Ministry before launching his campaign for a reorientation of German finances.

His figures made their mark on Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and even impressed his hardnosed Finance Minister, Gerhard Stoltenberg.

Professor Stoltenberg may need to work hard to balance the Federal budget but he cannot afford to brush aside the arguments marshalled by Herr Albrecht and his allies. That would be to risk a clash with fellow-Christian Democrats on his tax reform proposals.

Herr Albrecht's figures, which he promptly — and fairly — circularised to south German Premiers Walter Wallmann of Hesse, Lothar Späth of Baden-Württemberg and Franz Josef Strauss of Bavaria, convinced his initially sceptical "fellow-sufferers" from Kiel and Saarbrücken and decided them to join his campaign.

Herr Albrecht's paper cannot readily be dismissed, let alone disproved, as a few figures will illustrate.

Take the distribution of the growth in gross domestic product. Since 1970 the four northern *Länder* (Lower Saxony, Bremen, Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein) have fallen 8.6 per cent behind the average, while North Rhine-Westphalia, the Rhineland-Palatinate and the Saar are 15 per cent behindhand.

Hesse, Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria are well ahead of the field with a joint performance 20.4 per cent above the average.

This trend is naturally reflected in regional labour markets. In comparison with 1970, one of the last years of full employment in Germany, unemployment in Lower Saxony, Bremen, Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein is 2.9 per cent higher, and in North Rhine-Westphalia, the Rhineland-Palatinate and the Saar 1.9 per cent higher than the national average.

Unemployment in Hesse, Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria is 2.9 per cent lower than the average.

In 1970/71, when the Fiscal Adjustment Act (apportioning revenue between *Bund*, *Länder* and local authorities) was last amended, the North raised DM31 and the West and South-West DM12 more revenue per head than the South.

This situation has since been reversed. In 1986 the South raised DM91 more per capita than the North and DM109 more than the West.

Lower Saxony, already deep in debt, has to spend DM294 per head on social security, with front runner North Rhine-Westphalia disbursing DM310 per head (of a population totalling nearly 17m).

Prosperous Baden-Württemberg has only DM180 per head in outgoings, while neighbouring Bavaria manages with DM164 per head in this department.

Herr Albrecht's arithmetic thus shows that the seven have-nots gross DM3.7bn year less revenue than their comfortably-off cousins "down south."

Having had to raise loans, they have DM6.4bn more a year to pay for debt-servicing and DM4.1bn in higher social security spending.

The sum total, DM14.2bn, is cash the others have at their disposal to invest in education, road-building, the environment, manpower, the arts, hospitals — and remittances to the Bundesbahn in return for improved railway facilities.

For Herr Albrecht, as the founding father of the Group of Seven have-nots, that is only part of the story.

In 1986 the South benefited from roughly DM14bn more than the rest of the country in procurement and capital investment expenditure by the Bundeswehr, the Bundesbahn and the Bundespost.

The South, he notes, accounts for less than half the population of the Federal Republic.

The South also fared better in government funding of research and development: DM2.3bn better, or DM2.3bn worth of jobs and purchasing power.

So Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg and Hesse benefit from annual slices of the cake worth an estimated DM30bn more than their due.

Premiers Albrecht of Lower Saxony and Rau of North Rhine-Westphalia, Mayor Dohnanyi of Hamburg and Premier Lafontaine of the Saar are themselves partly to blame.

For years they have failed to ensure that officials from their *Länder* were appointed to key Ministerial posts in Bonn to ensure that Federal government funds flowed in their direction.

There are corridors of power in Bonn where southern dialects predominate — and it pays.

Hans-Peter Sattler

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 12 February 1988)

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weapon might result. But it is surely worth finding out.

Courage to grasp the political nettle is called for, not attention to missile details.

Maybe the West will discover that Mr Gorbachov is prepared to forgo other features of East Bloc weapon supremacy his predecessors so eagerly accumulated.

The West need hardly fear any surrender of Soviet supremacy, not even if previous Nato resolutions need to be abandoned in the process.

Walther Stützle

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 21 February 1988)

■ EMPLOYMENT

Controversial alternative jobs scheme for sacked shipyard workers

Holger Mahler, works council chairman at the Ross shipyard in Hamburg, had bad news for his workmates in the New Year.

In mid-February, he told them, all 1,277 men and women on the payroll of Ross GmbH, a subsidiary of shipbuilders Blohm + Voss, were to be served notice.

Most, 959, were to be offered jobs with the parent company at nearby Steinnwerder, but over 300 were not. For them it meant the sack.

These mass redundancies, a painful consequence of the international shipbuilding crisis, were endorsed by the works council, advised by IG Metall, the engineering workers union, as part of an agreement that took over 20 hours to negotiate with the management.

Mahler made it clear at a meeting in the works canteen that it had been an agonising decision. Outlining details of the redundancy agreement, he asked: "Why do *you* think we signed this stinking compromise?"

It was, of course, a rhetorical question. In return for agreeing to the shutdown, he said, the works council and the union had been given the go-ahead by Blohm + Voss for an experiment unprecedented in the Federal Republic.

Later this year a new company is to be set up in the shipyard. It will employ 100 of the 300 jobless Ross shipbuilders for at least two years, starting this autumn.



The costs are envisaged as being shared by the Labour Office (DM8m), the city of Hamburg (DM2m) and Blohm + Voss (DM2.5m).

The IG Metall national executive in Frankfurt sees the Ross venture as being of much more than local or regional importance.

General secretary Franz Steinkühler and IG Metall officials particularly hope similar schemes will ease unemployment in Ruhr steel towns where further mass redundancies are imminent.

The union published details of its plans for job-creation schemes of this kind in May last but had yet to negotiate a single specific agreement.

Yet head office has already come in for massive rank-and-file criticism.

"Left-wing IG Metall members," the Berlin *Tageszeitung* wrote last summer in a report from the Ruhr, are worried the executive might, by endorsing alternative employment schemes, "to all intents and purposes have come to terms with mass unemployment."

The Hamburg shipyard closure presents the union with its first opportunity of showing friend and foe alike that the idea works (or doesn't, as the case may be).

It began by causing friction in Hamburg's tension-laden coalition of Social and Free Democrats.

The two sides are headed by Labour and Welfare Senator Jan Ehlers, SPD, who persuaded the Senate to back the project in principle, and Economic Affairs Senator Wilhelm Rahlfs, FDP, fellow-Free Democrats in the Hamburg state assembly and virtually the entire local business community.

Businessmen — and Free Democrats — see the job-creation venture as a waste of taxpayers' money and a cardinal sin against the free market economy.

All the FDP is prepared to support is a cooperative venture in which the sacked shipyard workers would be required to invest their redundancy payments, an idea to which the union is categorically opposed.

A commission chaired by the city's SPD mayor, Klaus von Dohnanyi, is trying to arrive at an acceptable compromise, but has so far tried in vain.

As yet the entire project exists in little more than vague outline. The city is to set up a holding company that will provide employment for former Ross shipyard workers who have been out of work for six months.

They will continue to draw unemployment benefit, with a bonus paid by the city. Blohm + Voss, their former employers, will provide machinery and know-how.

The new company, with its wage bill underwritten in this way, is to develop and manufacture new environmental and energy industry products.

Senator Ehlers, who is formally in charge of the project, feels a new quality of labour market policy is already in the process of establishing itself in the Port of Hamburg.

"It is," he says, "the first time a leading company has demonstrated what might be termed an altruistic spirit toward its industrial location.

"It isn't right for companies simply to shut down, as they have done in the past, leaving us with the unemployed — without bothering to consider alternatives."

Altruism? At a conservative official estimate Hamburg taxpayers will have to pay between DM15m and DM16m to help Blohm + Voss retrench to a size at which it can make ends meet.

In the first three quarters of 1987 the shipyard wrote balance-sheet losses totalling DM24.5m.

Frank-Michael Wiegand, FDP leader in the Hamburg state assembly, feels the whole idea of a holding company as advocated by Senator Ehlers and IG Metall is humbug.

"There is absolutely no point," he says, "in providing 100 people with jobs for a mere two years at a cost of DM15m. That is a spiral that is bound to come to a sticky end."

True, the company as proposed poses a long list of unanswered questions. What, for instance, will happen to the 100 employees when it is wound up after exactly two years?

This limitation to two years is indispensable, otherwise funds from Labour Office job-creation allocations would not be available.

Another moot question is what the company is supposed to manufacture. To qualify for Labour Office funds its payroll must do work that is classified as non-profit making and would otherwise not be done.

So there must be no question of it competing with existing companies. The new firm must thus develop and manufacture products that have either gone unnoticed by existing companies or for which they have failed to find a market.

So it would need to do better than the rest of the field despite being heavily handicapped. And if it were to happen to do well with a new product it oughtn't really to market it.

It would then no longer comply with the conditions subject to which it qualified for Labour Office funds. That again would call its future, if any, into question.

Senator Ehlers hopes these problems will come up with their own solution as time goes by. He claims to know of instances in which Blohm + Voss ruled out further development of ideas put forward by its engineering division because they didn't come within the company's product range.

The new company could put to good use situations of this kind. Finance problems would, he argues, look altogether different once the firm notched up its first success.

Alternative employment proposals were originally drawn up by a research unit of the IG Metall national executive in Frankfurt.

They were initially devised for the crisis-torn steel industry and modelled on schemes in Britain and Sweden.

Their first and foremost purpose, according to a brochure issued by IG Metall's national executive, is:

- "to safeguard the jobs and earnings of workers hit by redundancy after every effort has been made to limit and postpone manpower cuts in the steel industry."

The new companies were also intended to pave the way for alternative jobs in crisis areas and help the workers affected to gain better qualifications for the future.

What is more, the union is keen to uphold the "works ties" of the unemployed and, without expressly saying so, to maintain their links with IG Metall.

In Hamburg the union has now decided to run the risk of not only trying out the new idea in another industry, shipbuilding, but also of doing so in a substantially reduced manner.

The crucial point is that whereas the original concept envisaged the staff of new companies continuing to be employed and paid by their old firms the Ross shipyard workers have no choice but first to be sacked.

"We face a virtually insuperable dilemma," says Heinz Bierbaum of the union's national executive. "We must first accept unemployment before we can set up holding companies."

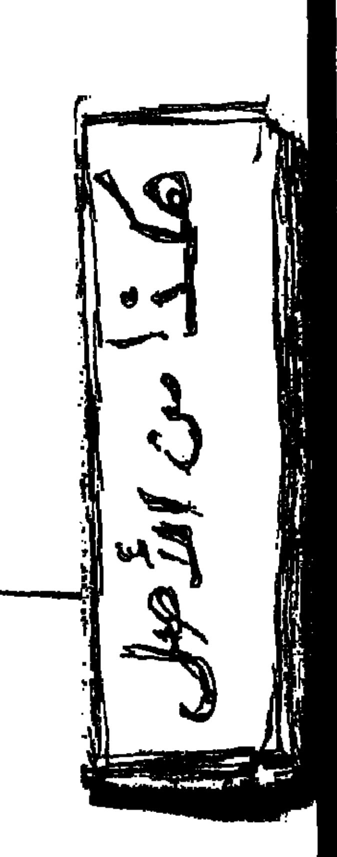
He also admits to a "certain helplessness" in the quest for alternative product lines. Besides, given the uncertain outlook there are limits to the sense of commitment shown by those directly affected.

IG Metall nonetheless sees the Ross project as a pilot venture for the entire country. "By virtue of its mere existence the new company will improve the conditions on which similar projects might be based."

The next company of this kind, or so some union members and officials hope, could well be set up at the Rheinhausen steelworks in Duisburg, currently the scene of the most embittered struggle in the country for an industrial location's survival.

Nikolaus Piper

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 12 February 1988)



■ BUSINESS

Diversification from iron and steel at Thyssen

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

Dieter Spethmann, for the past 10 years chairman of the Duisburg-based Thyssen Group, is worried that the old idea still prevails: "Thyssen means coal and steel."

Simplified classifications of this sort in the public mind jeopardise the Group's economic objectives. He said: "This sort of thinking leads to false assessments of our potential."

Spethmann would prefer a realistic, but certainly not so popular, description such as: "Thyssen is today a multi-purpose organisation, involved in production materials, components and systems."

Has steel damaged the Group's reputation? August Thyssen would never have believed that possible.

He opened his first blast furnace in sleepy Hamborn in 1891 in the last phases of the boom that had lifted the Ruhr to industrial eminence.

In the reconstruction period after the Second World War August Thyssen's organisation was regarded as the most financially-sound in Europe, thanks to strict management.

Thyssen still produces about 10 million tons of steel annually and is one of Europe's most important suppliers. The Group is still by far the largest and most financially-sound German steel manufacturer.

In 1987, the year of the steel crisis, both Thyssen steel companies were able to increase their capital despite a drop in sales.

This has meant that Thyssen is able expand for the good years that are expected to come eventually, expansion that will make it hard for the Group's competition to keep up.

Thyssen does not have any serious competition on the steel market. The loss reported in the steel division's latest balance sheet should not lead to false conclusions.

The loss was due to the total write-off of the company's shareholding in the Ruhr Coal Corporation, a move that was not forced upon Thyssen.

Had this move not been made, the steel division could easily have broken even, if not reported a profit.

Spethmann says that Thyssen is not just steel and with a glance at the balance sheet he is right.

Total Group turnover was DM33bn in the 1986/87 financial year (customer sales accounted for DM26.6bn of this).

Steel accounted for DM12.2bn of this DM33bn, just about a third. DM8.4bn came from capital goods and processing sales, and DM12.4bn was accounted for by trade and services.

The Group has for some time completed restructuring that others have only caught on to over the past few years. Thyssen has pulled capital concentration out of iron- and steelmaking and has moved into the more profitable areas of reprocessing.

In the middle of the 1970s Spethmann had already taken action to redirect the course of the Group's activities.

The change came in 1974. Rheinstahl AG, now trading as Thyssen Industrie in Essen, was taken over at this time. This has since developed into a group within the Group.

It includes Henschel in Kassel and the fast-growing elevator construction company in Stuttgart and the converter technology sector and the engineering division.

The present structure of Thyssen Industries is only remotely related to what was Rheinstahl.

In this sector of the Group there has been an unmistakable turning away from steel and steel products processing over the past few years.

Spethmann said: "Thyssen Industrie is the centre of our operations in Europe involving capital goods and the engineering division specialising in systems for production technology."

In the second half of the 1970s the upwards development of Rheinstahl slackened off. There was a virtual stop to power station construction that immediately caused the foundries trouble.

They had to be reorganised. Today they specialise in industrial components.

The engineering division was also restructured, and, like the foundries, the Nordsee shipyard at Emden had to cut back capacities.

That meant the loss of many jobs. Management regarded this loss of workplaces as "sacrifices made to save jobs and make them more competitive." Management said that it was the Group's contribution to saving jobs.

In 1978 another major holding was acquired — the American automobile accessories suppliers Budd. But as with Rheinstahl this purchase was not without its problems that had to be cleared up.

Budd cost Thyssen well over a billion deutschemarks. To the high purchase price the Americans added, surprisingly, considerable commercial losses.

For a time the Group's management was in trouble. It took five years to put the situation to rights. In the meantime Budd, like Thyssen Industrie, has blossomed.

With some relief Spethmann said: "The accumulated results of the past 10 years have turned out to be positive. It is now certain that we have got more out of this deal than we put into it."

The Group's third pillar is the subgroup Thyssen Handelsunion. This op-



Dieter Spethmann
(Photo: Sven Simon)

eration has always been a stable component of the Thyssen Group.

It could always be relied upon to show a profit. It has increasingly turned away from bulk business, such as scrap metal and the steel trade, towards service industries, engineering and environment technology.

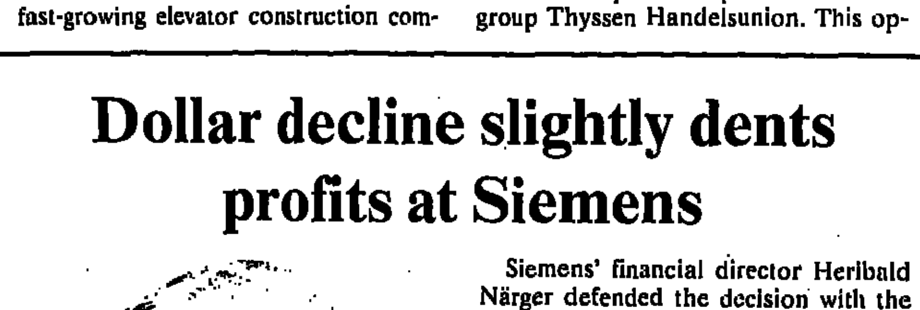
Between 1973 and 1986 the Thyssen Group's overseas turnover increased on average by two billion deutschemarks annually.

The drop in energy and raw materials demand, together with the weak dollar, have recently caused the upward curve to level out. But profits have hardly suffered at all — on the contrary.

In the 1986/1987 financial year they were ploughed back into the company. Profits, after paying taxes of DM535m, remained where they have been earned, within the Group.

Policies such as this improve liquidity. It would not be surprising if in the very near future there is not talk again of moving into the takeover market.

Leonhard Spielhofer
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 12 February 1988)



Dollar decline slightly dents profits at Siemens

Karlheinz Kaske, Siemens chairman, has promised champagne at the company's balance-sheet press conference next year if the dollar is worth over two deutschemarks by then.

This shows just how worried Siemens are about the dollar problem and the pressure its decline is exerting when such a sober-minded chairman as Kaske offers to buy champagne.

Electrical engineering giant Siemens, based in Munich, has a drop in sales of DM2bn because of the weak dollar — but that is not the worst.

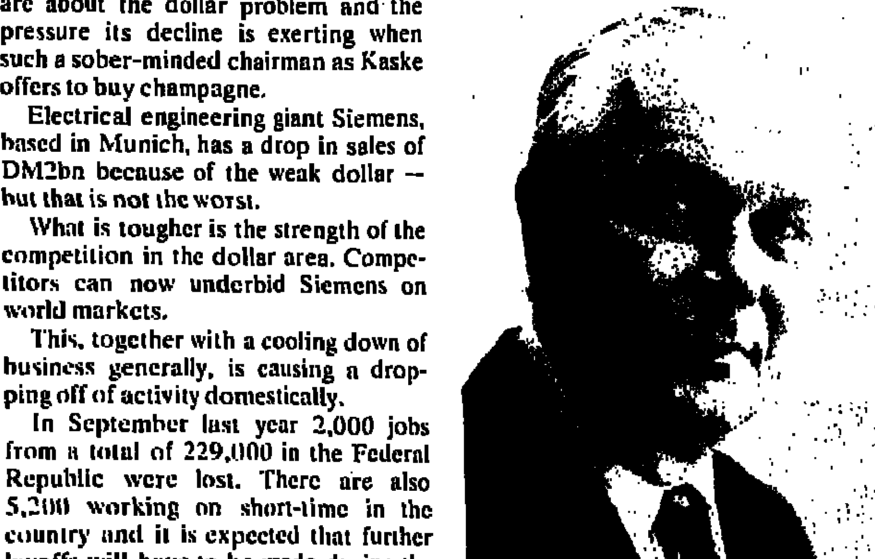
What is tougher is the strength of the competition in the dollar area. Competitors can now underbid Siemens on world markets.

This, together with a cooling down of business generally, is causing a dropping off of activity domestically.

In September last year 2,000 jobs from a total of 229,000 in the Federal Republic were lost. There are also 5,200 working on short-time in the country and it is expected that further layoffs will have to be made during the course of this year.

Management can now counter the criticisms about the lower dividend paid by quoting social considerations. A management spokesman said that it was impossible to talk to works councils about work cutbacks while shareholders were not having to suffer at all.

That holds good even though not all shareholders are "capitalists." It does show, however, that the symbolic signif-



Karlheinz Kaske
(Photo: Archiv)

icance of the dividend reduction has not been understood.

On the contrary. A few days after Black Monday, 19 October, the psychological effect would have been disastrous on market-makers and investors if Germany's blue-chip company Siemens had announced a drop in dividends.

Siemens' financial director Heribald Närger defended the decision with the argument: "You can't fight an extensive fire with a hand-held fire-extinguisher."

That's true but there was no need to pour oil on the fire.

The dividend cutback from DM12 to DM11 saved DM48m. This could have been paid out of petty cash for Siemens have reserves of DM23bn.

In consideration of the difficult employment situation and by pursuing policies in which dividends were dependent on profits Siemens has lost face internationally.

For certain the extent of the damage done has been underestimated and harm is still being done.

Kaske has been careful not to let the gloomy tone of the lamentations get out of hand. Despite his cares and worries he does not see any reason for pessimism.

Siemens, as a symbol of German economic strength, is strong enough to cope with existing problems.

It is true that last year profits dropped by 13 per cent. But no-one would contradict Kaske who is of the view that a company with profits of almost DM1.3bn has done fairly well.

It also looks as if the company has got over the knock to its reputation it sustained because of megachip technology. Siemens lost billions because of this component, which management prefers to enter in the books under the heading as "pioneering work."

The other six major divisions are operating from very good to satisfactory. All are in the black.

In many markets in the world Siemens is undisputed master. Even the uncertainty about atomic energy has not shaken the company. Only 50 per cent of Kraftwerk Union at Mülheim is involved in nuclear energy.

Investment plans for the future show that the Group's management is not disheartened and dejected.

A total of DM12bn is being paid out for fixed and financial assets, for research and development.

Management has said that there is no question that the emergency brake will be applied. The Siemens management regards itself as fortunate being able to press ahead here unwaveringly.

No-one needs to have fears about Siemens' future. It would obviously be better if less was said to the outside world about worries and doubts and more about the company's internal dynamism.

Worried shareholders would certainly be thankful for this. Kaske would also be over the moon if he did have to pay out for champagne next year.

Norbert Schulz
(Die Welt, Bonn, 4 February 1988)

■ TRANSPORT

Hovertrain poised on the brink of breakthrough

With the news that a hovertrain service is to link Düsseldorf and Cologne-Bonn airports the noiseless monorail and world record speed merchant seems at long last to be within hailing distance of a commercial breakthrough.

Deutsche Bundesbahn, the German Federal Railways, could have an electromagnetic hovertrain in service by 1990.

The Bonn Research Ministry has invested DM1.2bn in research and development, including about DM750m on an experimental section of track in Emsland, near the Dutch border.

The hovertrain will cost at least another DM300m before it is ready to go into service. German industry will, however, contribute DM150m.

Hermann Kemper, the father of the hovertrain, carried out the first experiments in electromagnetic transport in the 1930s. He had a vision of a rapid transit system based on electromagnets and both faster and less expensive than conventional rail services.

But it was only in the late-1960s that the hovertrain got the financial backing it needed. It looked likely to close the gap between air and rail travel. A successful model would bring the larger cities closer together.

This January the train set a world record of 412.6 kilometres per hour (258mph) on the experimental Emsland track. Scientists hope eventually to reach the magic 500kph (300mph) mark.

A government committee will meet at the end of June to decide whether to run a hovertrain service between Frankfurt and the Ruhr.

The government would have the option of extending the line at either end to cities such as Mannheim, Düsseldorf and Essen.

The committee has in fact about 70 options from which it can choose.

It consists of experts from the Federal Transport Ministry, the Bundesbahn and MVP, the magnetic rail system planners.

They do not face an easy choice. The whole country is interested in the new technology and the benefits it could bring.

Last year the north German coastal *Länder* said they wanted a line connecting Kiel with Hamburg and another from Hanover to Bremen.

Baden-Württemberg in the southwest wants a line running from Stuttgart to Zürich. The experts have to examine proposals for lines running from Hanover to Hamburg, from Augsburg to Munich and from Hanover to Wolfsburg via Brunswick.

A team of engineers from Krauss-Maffei, Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm and Thyssen-Henschel developed the experimental train and track.

There are stator windings, or stationary electrified coils, on both sides of the track. The train "rides" the windings' electromagnetic waves.

Hovertrain speeding along its 20-mile experimental track in rural Emsland
(Photo: dpa)

The experimental track is 31.5 kilometres long and is made of sections 25 metres long. The sections are of reinforced steel and concrete and mounted on pylons 4.7 metres tall.

The track can run along the ground and through tunnels. Hovertrains can also climb an astonishing 10-per-cent gradient and make do with ecologically beneficial narrow turning circles.

The rapid transit system can take a 2,250-metre bend at a speed of 300kph. An ordinary express train travelling at the same speed would need a bend of 3,250 metres. The new system will thus use less land.

The experimental train Transrapid 06, to be followed at the end of October by the Transrapid 07, consists of two identical sections. It is 54 metres long, 3.7 metres wide and 4.2 metres tall.

Because the train has no engine (it is powered only by the windings in the carriageway) it has more space for passengers.

Its interior has a sitting height of 3.7 metres and can fit rows of five seats comfortably.

The Transrapid 06 seats 169 passengers who together with the train's 120 "magnetic wheels" weigh about 122 tonnes.

In contrast to the 06, the Bundesbahn's Lufthansa Express linking Düsseldorf and Frankfurt airports is 110 metres long. The train and its 160 passengers weigh about 248 tonnes. The train itself makes up about three quarters of the weight. A twin track will cost between DM12m and DM19m per kilometre, which is roughly the same as conventional permanent way. The cost of land for both kinds of track is subject to strong fluctuations.

The new system's shorter bends and its amazing climbing capacity are advantages which enable engineers to build tracks less harmful to the environment.

At 400kph the hovertrain is as quiet as an Intercity express going at 300kph. At 200kph the magnetic train is practically noiseless.

With such credentials it is hardly surprising that Transrapid International is in the running for a new line to link Las Vegas and Los Angeles.

The company might also be able to clinch the contract for the Tampa-Orlando route.

A conventional train would do the 370 kilometres from Los Angeles to Las Vegas in seven hours, whereas a hovertrain would only take one hour 25 minutes.

Saudi Arabia, Brazil and South Korea are also interested in the system. The Saudis could use it to speed up the Jidda-Mecca journey. The Brazilians could use it for a new Sao Paulo-Rio de Janeiro route. And the Koreans could use it to speed up the Seoul-Pusan route.

It is quite clear that the hovertrain has potential. It will be more attractive to would-be buyers once it has proved itself in real conditions.

D. Zimmermann and Rolf H. Simen
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 13 February 1988)

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be stored in special depots like chemical weapons of old.

The shell only contains part of the lethal chemical combination; the second canister with the alcohol is kept separately for security reasons and is only used immediately after launching.

As a result, the transportation risks are far less than in the case of the old chemical weapons.

So it looks as if the deal Bonn's leading politicians agreed to in Tokyo was not all that good after all.

Binary weapons are being produced and American interest in negotiations on chemical disarmament has cooled down markedly.

What the Germans initially celebrated as a victory now looks pretty lacklustre.

In the meantime, there are even doubts about whether the old chemical weapons can at all be transported out of the Rhineland-Palatinate.

A report by the Pentagon and US environment authorities recently maintained that the transportation of outdated chemical weapons in the USA with the aim of their destruction was much too dangerous.

The report calls for "on-the-spot" destruction of these weapons at each of the eight US depots.

There is no exact information on the German depots, neither on whether they can be evacuated by 1992 nor on how this can be done.

Despite all this, however, the chances for chemical disarmament have not disappeared altogether, but simply become slimmer. Above all, there's not time to waste!

A chemical weapons convention must be drawn up as soon as possible before the US depots stock up with binary weapons!

Agreement on how chemical disarmament should work in detail has long since been reached in Geneva.

Werner Dosch
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 31 January 1988)

■ THE ARTS

Cologne museum features major photo collection

Frankfurter Rundschau

The Agfa Foto-Historama in the Wallraf Richartz Museum, Cologne, is one of the most important collections dealing with the history of photography in the world.

The latest exhibition in the Agfa-Historama has three aspects:

- Early photography, pictures from the beginning of travel photography;
- Portraits from the 19th and 20th centuries — a selection of portraits showing the history of this genre to the end of the First World War;
- Art portraits by Hugo Erfurth — portraits from the most important art photographer of the 20th century.

The intention of this exhibition is to show the history of photography with its constantly changing thematic material and to pay homage to individual work by the most important art photographers of the 20th century. It succeeds.

Pioneers of photography were drawn to the Orient. In the autumn of 1839, just a few months after Louis Jacques Daguerre published his *Historique et description des procédés de daguerréotypie* in Paris, Horace Vernet and Adolphe Goupil went to Egypt and took daguerre pictures of the antiquities, later published in *Excursions Daguerriennes*.

The original daguerreotypes on which these pioneer works were based have disappeared but these volumes have survived with their famous steel etchings and lithographic illustrations of the sights worth seeing in Egypt.

Two rare photographs by Tremaux show Egyptian women and a naked woman from the Dar-Four tribe.

Tremaux was a photographer who not only took pictures of the architecture in the distant lands he visited but also took shots of the people.

The results of his work with their clumsy techniques show how extremely difficult it was to photograph at that time.

Maxime du Camp accompanied Gustave Flaubert to Egypt, Syria, Jerusalem, Turkey and Greece in 1849. At the beginning of the 1850s he published his pictures from Egypt and the Holy Land.

This handsome volume includes 125 original prints. The Agfa-Historama owns one of these rare volumes, which is on show in this exhibition.

Wilhelm von Herford is one of the few German photographers from the early history of the art. The Cologne museum is the only collection that owns a quantity of his photographs, taken with never-ending difficulties in the Ottoman Empire.

The pictures, on show at the Agfa-Historama, are important pictures of this first expedition with cameras.

The second aspect of the exhibition includes first-class examples from the history of photographic portraiture.

At the beginning portrait photography was looked upon sceptically. It quickly gained in reputation after the development of the daguerreotype. Optical instrument experts and chemists were later able to improve on the originals.

The exhibition includes examples of all the influential movements and styles in portrait photography of the 19th century.

It also includes hand-coloured portraits as well as pictures by Franz Hanfstaengl, Alois Löcherer, Adam Salomon and Nadar.

These portraits also throw light on social conditions and folk art. The photographs by John Coate from the United States show captive Indians before and after they were "civilised." The pictures by A. O. Karelin show life in the provinces of the Russian Empire.

The John Coate pictures impressively document American history of the 19th century. His group portraits document social and moral concepts which were much influenced by the politics and history at the end of the 19th century.

The portraits by Madame d'Ora, who photographed the coronation of Karl I as King of Hungary in 1916, are of particular interest. This was the final act of the dying monarchies in Europe.

This is also true of the pictures taken by Rudolf Dührkoop, Heinrich Kühn and Friedrich Spitzer, just to name a few, who began dabbling with a new aesthetic concept for portrait photography.

The aim of this new kind of portrait photography was not just to provide a perfect likeness of the subject but to work artistically with the technical equipment of photography.

Amateur and professional photographers endeavoured to capture a mood and depict people true to life and naturally.

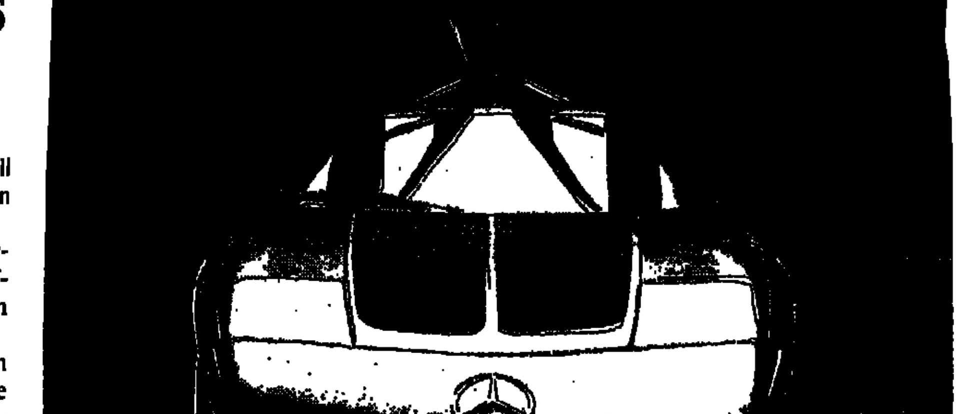
This aspect of the exhibition also includes documents, photographs and cartoons showing the popular uses of the portrait photograph genre.

The third facet of the exhibition deals with the photographic art of Hugo Erfurth, one of the most famous photographers of this century. A selection has been made of the most significant of his portrait photography from the collection of 300 held by the Agfa-Historama.

Hugo Erfurth was born in Halle in 1874. He was trained in the studio of the court photographer Höffert in Dresden. In 1896 he took over Schröder's studio in Dresden.

His later studio in a former small castle belonging to Count Lüttichau in Dresden was by 1906 a meeting place for artists, writers and people in public

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Andy Warhol: 'Mercedes-Benz C111, experimental model, 1970,' screen print, 1986 (Photo: Catalogue)

Cars — Warhol's last show opens in Tübingen

An exhibition of the last pictures by the American pop-artist Andy Warhol, entitled "Cars," has opened in the Kunsthalle in Tübingen. The Prime Minister of Baden-Württemberg, Lothar Späth, was present at the opening ceremony.

Interest in Andy Warhol in the Federal Republic seems to have been reawakened. Recently his "Death Pictures" were on show in Hamburg, a series of pictures of plane and car crashes.

These pictures by Warhol, who died in New York almost a year ago, show him in a new, more serious, light.

Cars were the subject of the pictures on which Warhol worked during the last months of his life — commissioned by Daimler-Benz and to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the motor car.

Düsseldorf art dealer Hans Mayer has loaned 35 pictures and 12 drawings for the exhibition in Tübingen from Daimler-Benz. Most of them come from this source except for a few that are owned by Hans Mayer himself.

He was responsible for introducing Warhol to Daimler-Benz in the first place.

After the show in Tübingen the exhibition will move to the Guggenheim Museum, New York. Then it will return to the new Daimler-Benz head office in Stuttgart, where some of the most exquisite works of modern art will be shown next to one another.



Warhol's 'Gottlieb Daimler in his 1886 automobile, with son Adolf at the wheel,' screen print, 1986 (Photo: Catalogue)

Warhol was not able to complete "Cars." The series was originally designed to include 80 pictures but only about half were finished when he died. But there is no premonition of death in the artist's works on display in Tübingen.

The art historian Werner Spies, writing in the exhibition catalogue, says that the automobile was an "icon of frightfulness" for Warhol as shown in his "disaster series."

Is that so? In this series, *his last, the* cars seem to be objects of an apotheosis, an overpowering glorification in iridescent lines and colours.

It is impossible to imagine cars more beautiful, colourful, magnificent than here, neither in art nor in reality.

It is not surprising that Daimler-Benz excutives responsible for this project were delighted with the first pictures that Warhol produced.

But Warhol himself was no car fan. He did not drive a car. How he managed that in the United States of America is hard to understand.

But does this rejection of the car not show a basic, cryptic aspect of his personality and his creativity? Does it not show a deep obeisance that did not have to be expressed once?

If Warhol seems to be less than involved in everything that he did, and only worked on a commission just for perfection, then this distance can be seen on the second or third viewing of the "Cars" series in Tübingen.

As always he based his work on photographs, serially repeating the same motive.

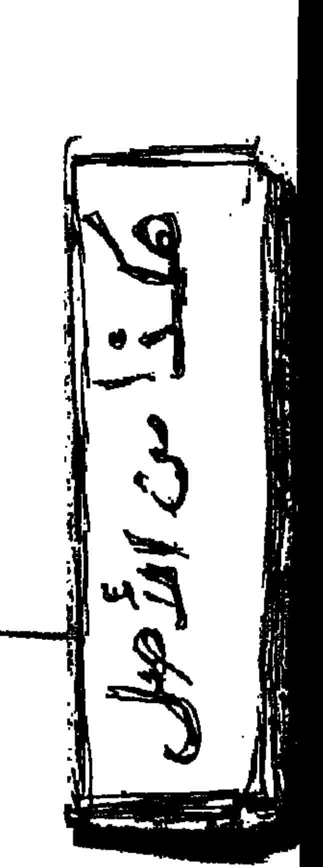
He has constantly been accused of banality because of his bold effect of instant recognition and the endless series of objects. Automation has changed our view of reality and robbed it of content. An artist cannot restore a world that is basically void.

In "Cars" he shows us that everything is apathetic and hard to repeat, but he shows this at a high aesthetic level, so that one can almost forget the fright.

Warhol has taken the photographic copy before it is prepared for colour screen printing for his graphic guidelines and reproduced it delicately in stylised outline.

These outer and inner lines were transferred by a photo-mechanical

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■ BALLET

Dreams set in motion in Bremen and Frankfurt

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

Theatre audiences are falling away but ballet is filling houses, probably because dancing is more immediate than a play or an opera.

Dancing is one of the oldest art forms known to man. Shamans were the first mediators between the gods and the world. They were a kind of doctor-priest and dancing teacher all in one.

They regarded illness as the body's answer to being out of step with the natural rhythm of living.

The Bremen Tanztheater has tried to justify the historical significance of shamanism. Two women head its ensemble; Rotraud de Neve is an actress and Heidrun Vielhauer is a dancer.

A woman doctor who specialises in psychoanalysis is literary manager. Her latest work is entitled *io*, taken from the ecstatic cry of the Bacchae by Euripides, linked to the contemporary themes of the British play *A Mouthful of Birds* by Caryl Churchill and David Lan.

The preconscious actions of mankind are shown through the characters and scenes. Communication between people is the same now as it was thousands of years ago. We do not learn anything new but rather refine our experiences.

Despite all the theoretical ballast the two women in Bremen try to treat their theme with spontaneity and wit.

The Concordiatheater has been redecorated to look like an Underground tunnel or a king-sized sewage system, "underground" being equated with the subconscious.

The setting is divided into four performing areas at the end of the shaft. There the company dances. Symbols are used to show the universal laws of everyday episodes.

Women are oppressed and sexually abused. The action is determined by barely tangible anxiety.

The protagonists of *io* are salesgirls, housewives, secretaries or women priests. Their real experiences are put to the side by dreams and fantasies.

A priest goes in for exhibitionism, a meat wholesaler falls in love with a pig, a housewife kills her husband in the mind's eye. There is much to think about in this piece which is so very human in so many ways. It is produced in a witty manner but sometimes the humour gets lost in the theoretical. The spoken word and pantomime push dancing into a subsidiary role. William Forsythe proceeds in quite a different manner in his *Impressing the Czar* in Frankfurt. He frees himself from intellectual ballast. He does not construct a storyline but just lets his dancers dance.

The scenes are full of the joy of movement and rhythm. One can call it a ballet with a clear conscience.

It is made up of four parts. In the first the choreography is structural. Characters from various periods of history mingle with one another. Two schoolgirls sit unconcerned on a magnificent throne, symbol of domination, and watch TV.

They communicate with their surroundings via telephone or radio. The same mindlessness flashes over all channels.

Dancing styles mix with one another, relaxed and unconventionally. Alongside neo-classical ballet there is breakdance and abstract movement.

The second episode is one of the most impressive creations ever to come from Forsythe. Ballerinas and their partners vie for the public's favours. There is a swirl of dancing enriched with technical refinements, proving that the company is one of the best.

There is a short interlude in the form of a lively auction which leads into the last episode, a tremendously amusing revue.

The whole company is dressed up like schoolgirls from a boarding school. They bob up and down on the stage with spontaneity and in first-class dancing. The dancers and audience together get a kick out of the ballet.

The music Thomas Willbandt arranged for the Bremen performance was merely incidental. It was quite different in Forsythe's ballet which is performed to Beethoven's 14th String Quartet, put on a sound computer by Tom Willem. The dancing and music intertwine with one another to create a unity.

Both dance groups showed that they can delight their audiences with the fantasy of movement and an element of liveliness. That is how new audiences will be attracted to ballet because without strong action symbolic language and settings have no emotional punch.

Roland Langer

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 17 January 1988)



A scene from the Frankfurt production of William Forsythe's ballet 'Impressing the Czar' (Photo: Gert Weigelt)

Bewitched, bothered and repulsive — Macbeth in Heidelberg

Johann Kresnik has staged his ballet based on Shakespeare's *Macbeth* at the Heidelberg Municipal Theatre.

The settings have a macabre beauty. There is a white, windowless mortuary with see-through tubes on the walls, cloaked with wavy lines. Blood flows through them later in the ballet.

The stage area is filled with bath-tubs. Dead people, covered with sheets, are lying in them.

A man in a black gymnast's vest and a woman in a red dress drag on a corpse and throw it into an empty bath-tub. A door opens in the background with an infernal din.

A coloured priest enters, bringing a bucket to the stage apron. He empties its contents, blood and viscera — it's disgusting, revolting. Without any sign of feeling the man turns round and leaves.

Kresnik's choreographic piece for the theatre is a terrible vision, crude fantasy. It does not tell a story, it is not psychological, it is not moralistic.

It highlights the fact that the world is like this, people are like this, you are like this.

The means Kresnik uses to achieve his ends are highly effective. There are a series of fast-flowing scenes, interrupted by blackouts or a blood-red curtain falling. Various motifs return, overpowering but always closely calculated so that their effects increase. Regularly the priest pursues his gruesome office, changing the corpses in the tubs and incessantly one or the other of them seems to cry to Lady Macbeth, "Give me the dagger." Is this all of Shakespeare? It is astonishing how much Shakespeare remains by this method. Obviously Kresnik has to edit, alter the accent, exaggerate. But he keeps to the essence of the laws of choreography and emphasises the essence of the play: the demonic nature of power and blood feuds, the destructive nature of evil.

The three witches foment this process time and time again. They prophesy that Macbeth will sit on Duncan's throne and that Banquo's descendants will threaten his power.

They are also fighters for Lady Macbeth who spurs on her husband to criminal acts so as to be sure of domination.

They are dressed like stewardesses. They lead him deeper into his own undoing.

But Kresnik does not only handle his material boldly. In his choreography he makes distinctions between Macbeth and Banquo who share the same fate.

He has them come on stage almost naked, a symbol of ruthless discovery, and shows their inescapable entanglement.

The partnership of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth, that has in it the seeds of its own destruction, has an alarming effect. This ends in the high point of Lady Macbeth's madness.

Her sudden change is oppressive, the woman who planned the devilish murder is a woman robbed of her inner sense of security which she wants to wash clean with blood.

Joachim Siska gives an impressive interpretation as Macbeth. Susana Ibañez convinces as Lady Macbeth as does Maverick Quek as Banquo.

The banqueting scene is particularly impressive with the banqueting table covered in black. Banquo's ghost can only be seen by Macbeth. The guests steal coronets from one another because no one wants to be without one.

Kresnik shows that no-one can escape the consequences of the misuse of institutionalised power.

Psychological and physical violence is done to children at play among larger-than-life furniture by thugs dressed in white coats, easily identified as medical personnel.

Macbeth's end is staged in a different, but equally splendid way. Naked, except for giant boots, he trudges off under compulsion to his death, while showers of pointed wooden stakes descend on

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The three witches (left), and Macbeth seated on an upturned bathtub in Johann Kresnik's Heidelberg ballet (Photo: Gert Weigelt)

■ EDUCATION

European universities rapped at Berlin conference

An international conference on the future of the universities held at the Berlin Aspen Institute began with an attack on European universities by a former dean of Harvard.

He quoted the opinion of Asians who had studied at US universities, resulting in a league table of world universities published in the Asian edition of the *Wall Street Journal*.

Here's how they rated: 1. Harvard; 2. Oxbridge; 3. Stanford; 4. Berkeley; 5. MIT; 6. Yale; 7. Tokyo; 8. Sorbonne; 9. Cornell; 10. Michigan; 11. Princeton.

If this list were extended to make up a Top 20 or Top 30, Columbia, Chicago and other American universities would be added.

Tokyo, Oxford, Cambridge and the Sorbonne were only included in the Top 10, he said, as a courtesy by the proverbially polite Asians.

Oxford and Cambridge, he added, presumably owed their standing to their historic rank, which relieved them of the need to face international competition for the best students and academic staff. They were sleepy and behind the times instead.

The Harvard man, while on the warpath, also opposed any kind of university democratisation.

Universities, he said, served the purpose of teaching and research and could only function on the hierarchical basis of teacher and student, or master and apprentice.

The merest concern for interests at university was harmful; conflicts of interest must be kept to a minimum.

Self-governing administrations in which the dean was appointed by heads of faculties or the president was elected tended to vote weak personalities into office.

American universities, both public and private, preferred strong leadership. That was why deans and presidents of US universities were appointed, not elected.

He recalled the spectre of equal voting rights for professors, junior lecturers and students, which he felt had been to blame for the appalling decline in standards at a number of European universities.

Rectors and vice-chancellors of universities in Southern Europe — Spain, Greece and Italy — firmly refuted these allegations.

The principles the American speaker had outlined were not accepted in Europe, where students were regarded as citizens and recipients of services provided.

That was why they were entitled to share, with academic staff, in university self-government. Neither dons nor politicians favoured a departure from participatory democracy at university.

In a society based on communication there was a reciprocal cultural relationship between students as learners and academic staff as teachers. This interaction promoted academic thought processes.

Besides, university education ought not to be limited to the mere pursuit of knowledge. Education in values such as tolerance and solidarity, freedom and justice was equally important.

Representatives of German universities held mixed views on the American challenge at the Berlin conference. Supporters of conservative university policies agreed with the criticism voiced by the former dean of Harvard.

Others noted that dons had for years commanded an absolute majority on decision-making bodies at all universities and that on certain issues voting rights were based on qualifications.

Besides, the days of political commitment at universities were, a few individual instances excepted, past history.

Issues currently awaiting decision included the promotion of competition between German universities, a drastic reduction in times required to complete university courses and the development of new sectors in view of limited financial resources.

Decisions on these issues were definitely not postponed because students, junior lecturers and non-academic staff were represented on bodies in which dons predominated.

Delay was due to professors keen to see their own special subjects granted examination status and thereby contributing toward the absurd situation that German students did not graduate until their late 20s.

It was professors who were most strongly opposed to structural proposals for reorganisation of universities, faculties and departments and would soonest retain the status quo.

It was they in the main who were most bitterly opposed to an academic hierarchy based on an assessment of faculties and departments in terms of achievement.

The Standing Conference of German University Vice-Chancellors, the Scientific Research Council and educational policymakers have for years favoured greater competition between German universities.

Performance ratings would enable students to find out which faculties had particularly good staff. Scarce funds would be best allocated to faculties with the best track record in academic research.

But all such proposals have yet to be more than fine words. Most universities staunchly refuse to publish the key data needed for purposes of comparison.

Neither Ministries nor the Standing Conference nor the Council have access to a representative stock of data sufficient to enable academic achievements to be seriously compared.

The situation is much the same where essentials of academic teaching are concerned. Neither the United States nor Europe has a convincing answer to the question of what general education should include.

Views also differ on whether university education should generalise or concentrate on career skills.

Ought, in Germany for instance, 80 per cent of students to take partially regimented four-year degree courses, leaving only 20 per cent, the best students, to do research with a view to assuming leading positions in research and society?

Or is a four-year degree course to be seen as merely part of a lifelong process of learning, meaning professional people will be enabled to return to universities for postgraduate courses?

Ideas of this kind have been debated for years without conclusions having been reached. Postgraduate courses for professional people are in great demand at American universities, being regarded as a stepping-stone to career progress.

In Germany they are, in contrast, seen more as an exotic idea that does little or nothing to promote a career.

In Germany young people study longer than in the United States, where the overwhelming majority of students are employed in a career by their mid-20s.

How are professors to be convinced that shorter studies are needed despite the explosion in academic and scientific knowledge and the trend toward specialisation?

How are students to be convinced of the need to study for as short a period as possible when potential employers expect them not only to be masters of their subject but also fluent in at least two foreign languages, conversant with computers and qualified *professionally*?

You can't amass all these qualifications by the age of 26, especially if military service, which is shortly to be extended to two years, is taken into consideration.

The Berlin Aspen Institute conference was attended by high-ranking university officials from Germany and abroad, including Professor Seidel of the Standing Conference of German University Vice-Chancellors and General Secretary Kreyenberg of the Scientific Research Council.

Yet it too could do no more than reformulate the problems rather than solve them.

Uwe Schlicht

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 5 February 1988)

Continued from page 11

him. Assistants from the underworld make a bed for him in a tub. This brings to mind the picture of the dead Marat by Jacques Louis David.

Gottfried Helnwein produced simple, suggestive sets for Kresnik.

Kurt Schwertsik's music is a composition for four hands on the piano, accompanied by electronic sound. It hardly does justice to the major drama on stage.

Kresnik's work is indeed a piece to be seen. He exaggerates but shows what is concealed. It is bewitched, bothered and repulsive at one and the same time.

Helmut Scheier

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 13 February 1988)

Schoolchildren say they're marked for life

Schoolchildren's views on what (and how) they are taught at school are outspoken, Lüneburg educationalists told a Munich conference held by the Bavarian Teachers' Union.

Kurt Czerwenka and Hans J. Schmidt briefed the conference on their findings in an international survey on how schoolchildren see school.

"School," a 15-year-old secondary schoolgirl is quoted as saying, "is a concrete block where you learn mostly useless nonsense." She goes on to be even more forthright.

An 18-year-old male student at a *Gymnasium* (grammar school or college) is no less scathing about the curriculum. "What is taught is frequently garbage you will never need in later life."

German schoolchildren in all age groups were found to be much more critical than their counterparts in Britain, Sweden or the United States, and the older they are, the more dissatisfied they grow with school.

Primary schoolchildren most enjoy going to school, with 44.5 per cent in favour and only seven per cent rejecting school out of hand.

Only 22.5 per cent of secondary schoolchildren rate their situation at school satisfactory, while 13.3 per cent feel it gives them no pleasure whatever.

On the next rung of the ladder, the *Realschule*, a qualitative change occurs, with only 12.7 per cent of pupils enjoying what they are taught and 22.2 per cent voicing disapproval.

Students at *Gymnasium* are not wildly enthusiastic either, with only 18.8 per cent enjoying school and 17.1 per cent feeling distinctly dissatisfied.

Czerwenka and Schmidt, teachers at the Lüneburg Institute of Education, arrive at their findings from evaluation of essays written anonymously by 1,210 schoolchildren in Bavaria and Lower Saxony.

Pupils' views in both states generally coincided, Schmidt said. The difference in the educational system between the two was that Lower Saxony had a two-year screening stage after primary school during which pupils had an opportunity to think over their further schooling.

Yet in Lower Saxony 18.6 per cent of schoolchildren disapproved of their schooling, as opposed to 12.3 per cent in Bavaria.

Schmidt said this difference was not, in his view, sufficiently significant to justify political inferences.

Albin Dannhäuer of the Bavarian Teachers' Union was a strong believer in postponing for as long as possible the streaming of pupils and their allocation to one kind of senior school or the other.

He was also in favour of offering a wider range of optional subjects.

That, he said, would help to ease the pressure of grading and selection and reduce dissatisfaction with and fear of schooling.

If they were not dispelled during the two-year screening stage, then parents must be considered largely to blame.

They insisted on sending their children to *Gymnasium* heedless of teachers' advice, feeling their children would then stand a better chance of getting a good job.

Pressure to perform and the treadmill of academic achievement were correspondingly burdensome. "German schoolchildren see school largely as an institution where they are constantly graded — and marked for life."

Grades and reports weigh heavily on them even though some may realise that marks are indispensable.

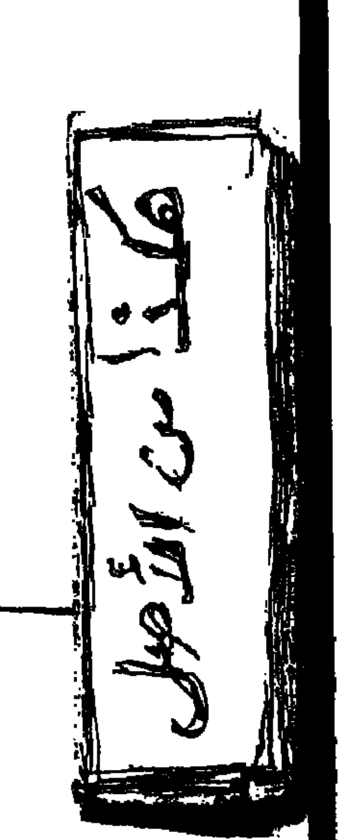
Only 9.1 per cent of pupils at *Realschule* and 6.4 per cent at *Gymnasium* approve of their teachers. Primary school teachers enjoy the approval of about one pupil in four.

All told, 42.6 per cent of German schoolchildren disapprove of their teachers, as against 13.3 per cent who give them good marks.

The Lüneburg survey found German schoolchildren's views on teachers to weigh much more heavily in their overall assessment of school than in other countries.

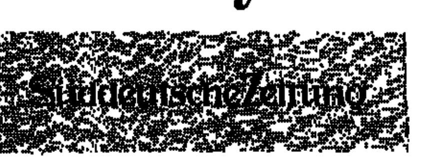
But no other country probed had such an intimate connection between career expectations and pressure to do well at school.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 10 February 1988)



■ MEDICINE

Migraine: it's all in the mind, claims Bonn University neurologist



New scientific evidence suggests that migraine is caused by a slowly spreading retardation of circulation in the brain.

Migraine, once looked upon as an imaginary complaint of upper class daughters, is now accepted as an agonising neurological syndrome.

The main symptoms are throbbing pains on one side of the face and a feeling of nausea. Science has at last made some progress with this mysterious and debilitating complaint.

Felix Jerusalem writes in the magazine *Aktuelle Neurologie* that scientists see the brain itself as the source of headaches — and not the blood vessels in the head.

In the past circumstantial evidence has pointed to the blood vessels as the sole source of the problem.

Medical science thought painless contracting of veins inside the skull caused the characteristic symptoms of changes of the voice and disturbance of vision known as scotoma.

According to this theory, arteries on the skull's surface later swell and set off the pain which the brain itself does not feel. Blood vessels only cause pain in an expanded state.

Serotonin, an important brain messenger hormone, was thought to be a cause. The hormone is released at the onset of attacks by certain blood particles which promote clotting, causing contraction of blood vessels inside the head.

This reduces nutrients and overexcites nerve cells and causes the symptoms of an attack.

Under the influence of serotonin, pain-causing hormones seep from the blood stream through the blood vessel walls into arterial areas with many pain sensors.

Finally, as a consequence of a complete enzymatic clearance of the serotonin glut, arteries on the skull's surface expand and cause pain.

Jerusalem, who works in the neurological department at Bonn University Hospital, says a lot of new evidence contradicts this theory.

Scientists have confirmed the increase and decrease in the level of serotonin. But the serotonin in the head's veins seem to have no influence on the bloodstream in the brain.

Even certain types of cancer which go together with serotonin deposits do not cause migraine.

Jerusalem believes an observation made in the 1940s is more enlightening on migraine. Some scientists noticed that the interference with vision spread at a definite rate across the field of vision.

They thought this was attributable to nerve-storms, which spread through the cortex's visual area at a rate of three millimetres per minute, leaving electrically run-down cells behind.

A few years later, a physiologist pointed out the course of events in an animal experiment. He called it a spreading depression.

Diverse stimulating drugs and poisons set off epileptic-like discharges in nerve cells. They spread at three millimetres per minute interrupted by electrical radio silences.

Jerusalem says it easy to see the visual flickering and loss of vision in the front court of migraine attacks as a reflection of a spreading depression.

Preventive drugs from the group of calcium antagonists, which proved effective against migraine, also regulated the emergence of spreading depressions in animal experiments.

Scandinavian neurologists have apparently found the link between brain related neurogenics and the blood vessel related aspect of migraine. They measured with the most modern photography and X-ray equipment the circulation of brains of classical migraine sufferers during attacks.

Findings showed a 30-per-cent drop in circulation. The drop moves along at a rate of two millimetres per minute spreading from the back to the front of the cortex.

This oligamy, which lasts from four to six hours, spreads independently of the position of individual blood vessels or veins and corresponds to known facts about spreading depressions gathered from animal experiments.

Jerusalem thinks all this means migraine starts with a slow drop in the brain's blood pressure.

The most likely cause are nerve cells which electrically discharge as described above. The abnormalities of the blood vessels and also the pain are only secondary effects.

There are many different influences which could be a catalyst. The headaches might be congenital or caused by the weather, stress, food allergies, the cold, menstruation, altitude, lack of or too much sleep, caffeine withdrawal and even bright lights.

The pain itself most likely comes from the trigeminus nerve, a cranial nerve which receives pain from the viscerocranium and redirects it. It is connected to arteries of the brain.

Serotonin is not the only messenger drug which plays a role in migraine attacks. Take the drug dopamin for instance. It regulates the distribution of energy, the execution of movement and circulation.

Researchers have proven with the effective anti-migraine drug Lisurid, a drug similar to dopamin, that dopamin loses its effectiveness during migraines.

Apart from Lisurid, beta blockers have proved successful in blocking the effects of the messenger noradrenalin during attacks.

Ergotamines are not prescribed regularly any more because of side-effects.

Doctors prefer simple pain-killers like paracetamol, which can be used with drugs for nausea and stomach cramps. Many patients benefit from placebos. This might mean they would benefit from psychotherapy.

Rolf Degen

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 1 February 1988)

Continued from page 10

life. From 1934 Hugo Erfurth lived and worked in Cologne, but during the Second World War he moved to Gaienhof on Lake Constance, where died in 1948.

There is hardly a photographer of the 20th century who has given so much of his time to the history of portrait photography.

Erfurth witnessed the decline of portrait photography in the 19th century. He himself had produced pictures of people standing in postures with no relationship to their surroundings.

But he broke away to develop a direct, precise and urgent style.

His portraits of artists Otto Dix, Max Beckmann and Lovis Corinth are among the most important art works in portrait photography.

The exhibition includes an extensive range of historical cameras and projection equipment. There is also a specialist library available to the public.

It includes in all over 12,000 photographs, about 20,000 cameras and items of photographic equipment and 3,000 books, as well as many cartoons dealing with the history of photography.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 15 February 1988)

Snoring can be a killer, Ulm specialist says

Doctors think there is a connection between apnoea, a temporary cessation of breathing associated with snoring, and cot death among babies.

Although science has long established the link between snoring and apnoea, German medicine in general has not yet given it any serious attention.

Professor Wolfgang Pirsig is an exception. For some years he and scientists in many disciplines have been studying the effects of ordinary and pathological snoring.

The 51-year-old professor, chief surgeon at the ear, nose and throat department of Ulm University Hospital, has published the first book in German on this sleep upset. It summarises the findings of worldwide research.

Professor Pirsig is a rhinologist, or nose specialist. He worked on the book to find out which treatment was best for different types of snorer. The book is for the layman as well as the specialist.

He believes it is important for everyone to know whether their snoring is a mere inconvenience or a dangerous ailment.

He believes the medical evidence should persuade doctors to see snoring as a possible cause of cot death and a variety of illnesses. Doctors would be able to diagnose better if they could find out more about their patients' sleeping habits.

Snoring can be a loud phenomenon. It is stressful for the listener and often leads to divorce, Ulm University Hospital has recorded snoring at 90 decibels, as loud as a pneumatic drill or jackhammer.

As Goethe wrote: "Nature has strewn her most beautiful gifts with some irritants. Thus, one of the most unsociable bad habits of man, just when he is in most profound contact with himself, is his tendency to keep other people awake by snoring loudly."

Bologna University found that 90 per cent of older people snore. Young people do not snore much at all. Among 30-year-olds, only 10 per cent of men and 5 per cent of women snore.

Professor Pirsig said infants normally snored only if they had a cold. If an infant snores, parents should see a doctor. The infant might need an operation to avoid possible complications.

The complications can end up as a cot death. Three babies in every thousand die in this way. Doctors are still looking for an explanation.

They have come across evidence that some babies suffocate as a result of obstructive apnoea. This happens when the soft tissue flaps in the oropharynx collapse and air cannot get through.

The disposition might be hereditary. Infants only learn to breathe through the mouth at 10 months. Therefore parents who are pathological snorers should tell their doctors so they can take preventive measures against any inherited disposition during the critical early months.

Apnoea is dangerous for adults as well. Pathological sufferers can stop breathing for two minutes 100 times a night. Respiratory arrest of a few seconds and no more than 30 times a night is harmless.

Marburg University found that 10 per cent of adults, particularly the over-50s, suffer from apnoea. Statistics show a strong connection between pathological snoring and obesity, high blood pressure and cardiac and circulatory diseases.

Alcohol is a major cause of heavy snoring. Drink transforms a quiet sleeper into a potential apnoeic. One of the best remedies is not to drink for two hours before going to bed.

Many sufferers should also diet, give up smoking and cut back on sleeping pills and tranquillisers.

Science has yet to find an effective pill for all aspects of the complaint. Anti-depressants which can help in pathological cases should only be used under strict medical supervision.

There are about 400 patents on the market that are claimed to cure snoring. But many of the highly praised anti-snoring devices have yet to be scientifically evaluated. Pirsig says devices for binding the chin are definitely dangerous.

The ancient tracheotomy method is not the only way to help apnoea sufferers. The Sleep-easy mask is new on the market. It uses air pressure to get rid of all snoring complaints. There are 9,000 patients with this intricate device in the world. It has been successful but costs DM 4,000.

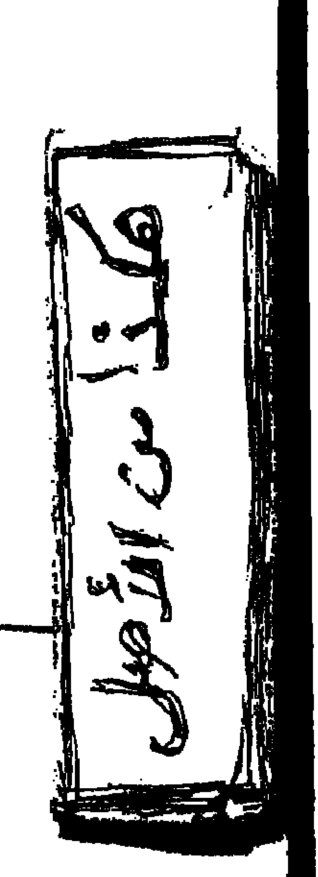
Wives or husbands who are disturbed by the normal snoring of their partner should probably seek treatment or use ear plugs. If they are no use, they can use autogenic training. American research shows that the wife can change her aversion into a benign neutrality.

But how is one to find out whether snoring is harmless or dangerous? Paul Lavie compiled a simple questionnaire in 1984, which makes it easy for a doctor to differentiate harmless snorers from the apnoea patients.

Anyone who snores and suffers from inexplicable chronic tiredness, headaches and falls asleep during the day should go the doctor.

Annegert Bock

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 12 February 1988)



■ ALIENS

European call for asylum rights coordination

Süddeutsche Zeitung

No-one will disagree with the comment made by Amir Shadani, Pakistani ambassador in Bonn, at the 7th international conference on refugees and asylum-seekers, organised by the CSU-linked Hanns Seidel Foundation in Florence.

"The possible withdrawal of Soviet troops from neighbouring Afghanistan will not solve the problem of the four million Afghan refugees in Pakistan at a stroke," he said. "They will still be in Pakistan."

The conference did not discuss specific solutions to the refugee problems that beset specific regions of the world.

The participants from the Federal Republic and other European countries were much more interested in how it would be possible to standardise the right of asylum in Europe.

Kay Hailbronner, an international law expert from Constance, in a tour d'horizon of the legal position among European states, concluded by saying that all European states based the right to asylum on the Geneva Convention.

But they emphasised their right to apply controls on immigrants into their territory.

Only in the Federal Republic does Basic Law give people seeking asylum certain legal rights. Applications have to be accepted and they have to be considered "independently" by the appropriate administrative court.

Hailbronner said that the right to asylum laid down in Basic Law was in effect a right to apply for asylum. He said that it would be impossible to coordinate the European approach along the lines of the German system.

Otto Kimminich, his colleague from Regensburg, warned against altering Basic Law rashly and so surrendering aspects of constitutional guarantees.

The conference was generally agreed that the European states should standardise their criteria for applications for asylum and procedures.

Gottfried Zürcher from the Swiss delegation said that over the past few years there had been an alignment of approach in Europe, although this was uncoordinated.

He said that at the beginning of the 1980s the ratio of acceptance of applications hovered between ten and 94 per cent among the individual European states. The figures had now drawn closer together at between ten and 15 per cent.

It was true to say that the Efta countries had not been involved in the opinion-forming processes or the harmonisation of regulations in the EC states. The problem of asylum-seekers had been accentuated with the moves towards a Single Internal Market by 1992.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Alexander Casella, demonstrated how the action taken by one country could have an affect on its neighbour.

He pointed out that in 1986 Denmark had applications from 9,300 people seeking asylum. When in the following year stricter regulations were introduced this figure dropped to 3,000.

But parallel to this the number of applications for asylum made in Norway jumped from 2,700 in 1986 to 9,000 in the following year. The problem moved from one state to the next.

Casella linked this diagnosis with a criticism. He said that the authorities had not understood enough about the supposed flow of refugees. Closing the door did not deal with the problem of the unexpected number of refugees.

State Secretary Virginie Korte van Hemel of the Dutch Justice Ministry endorsed this. Officialdom might be bowled over by the influx of refugees but that did not mean European countries could not absorb any further intake.

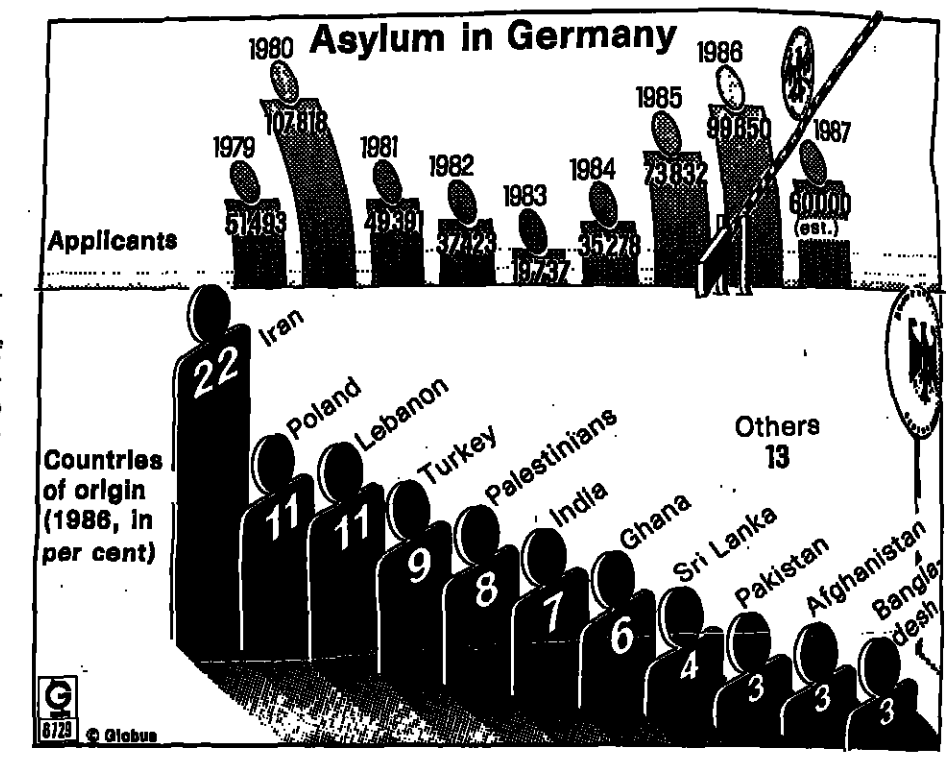
Simplifying administrative procedures might help, but refugee rights should not be limited.

Norbert von Niedling, head of the refugee reception centre at Zirndorf, near Nuremberg, and the president of the Bavarian administrative court in Ansbach, Lothar Schmitt, said that the Federal Republic had tackled the problems successfully.

Norbert von Niedling said that, through the recruitment of additional personnel in his department, the time needed to handle applications had been considerably reduced. There were only delays involving cases from Poland, Turkey and Iran.

Excluding these three nationalities the time needed to process an application for asylum had been reduced to between three and six months.

Norbert von Niedling said that the 1987 proportion of applications granted dropped to nine per cent — in 1985 it was 30 per cent and in 1986 it was 16 per cent — due to stricter regulations (applications for asylum are not granted to applicants with previous residential status in a third country).



The ratio of acceptances had also dropped because of the latest court rulings, such as that the civil war in Sri Lanka was no longer felt to constitute political persecution of Sri Lankan Tamils.

Lothar Schmitt said that the situation as regards appeals was healthy in comparison with the previous year. There was on average a lapse of six months before an appeal was heard and three months before a case was heard by the second and final appeal court.

He was worried, however, by the number of people seeking asylum who disappeared when their appeals were rejected. He estimated that this happened in about 20 per cent of cases.

The question of emigrés, especially ethnic Germans, from the East Bloc made the whole question of refugees in the Federal Republic unusual. Over the past few years between 40,000 and 60,000 of them had been added to the refugee figures. These people also need a social benefits system.

The situation had completely changed since the post-war period. Many of these East Bloc emigrés spoke little or no German and their educational standards were not up to levels common in the Federal Republic.

Many are not prepared to leave the family group, understandably, so that they lack the social mobility needed to be integrated into work quickly.

With these people in mind Heinrich Lummer, CDU Bundestag member for Berlin, was against the right of alien residents to vote in local government elections (failing which they had little incentive to integrate).

Lummer took the view that the indi-

Continued on page 15

Guardian angel of Berlin's migrant workers

Barbara John has been responsible to the Berlin Senate for matters concerning aliens for the past six years.

Frau John, 50, said: "No matter what you do, someone will complain." She says this as a statement of fact and not as an expression of resignation.

Her CDU colleagues and her political opponents says that she brings to her job a sense of involvement, toughness, and caution when needed.

She has one of the hardest jobs going in Berlin, but she sees her work differently. She said it is "the most unusual because it is totally new and without examples and appropriate experience."

Approximately 250,000 non-Germans live in West Berlin. Half of them are Turks. Most problems concern them. In districts such as Kreuzberg they are now in the majority.

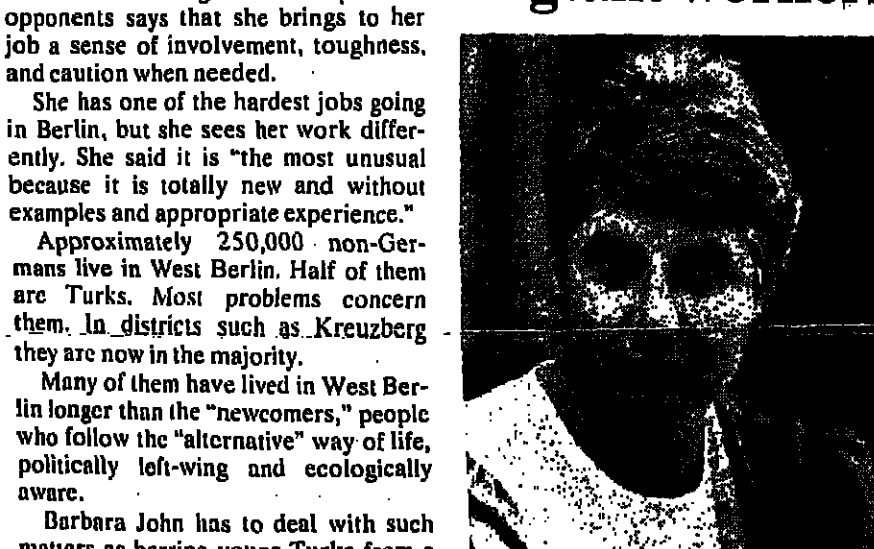
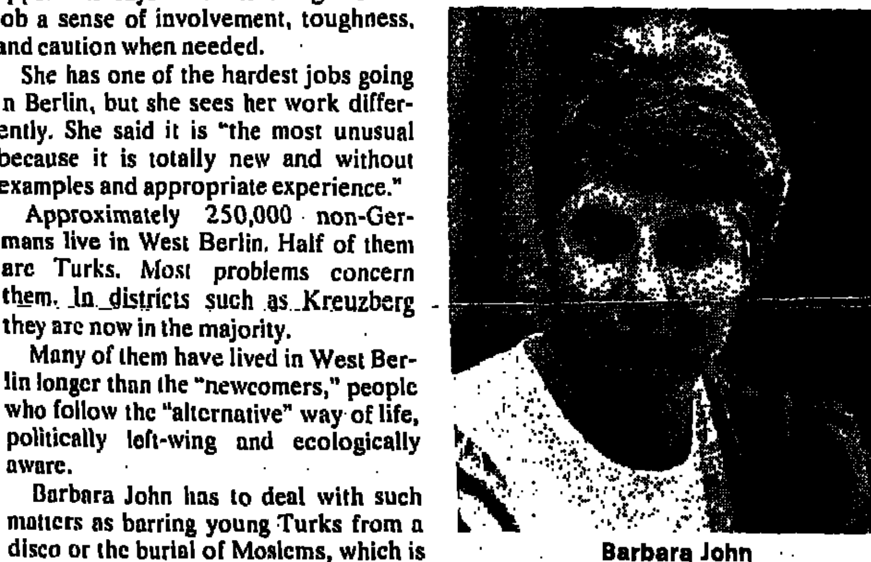
Many of them have lived in West Berlin longer than the "newcomers," people who follow the "alternative" way of life, politically left-wing and ecologically aware.

Barbara John has to deal with such matters as barring young Turks from a disco or the burial of Moslems, which is very much a problem of the moment.

She makes a practice of going out and about to find out what is happening on the spot.

In her spare time she has learned Turkish and she visits Turkish families in their homes.

"In important matters I use an interpreter, of course," she said, although it is well-known that she speaks Turkish quite well. She was born in Kreuzberg, studied in Berlin and London, worked as a teacher in Hamburg and as an assistant at the Free University.

Barbara John
(Photo: Lothar Kucharz)

She has had a lot of experience in communal problems concerning foreigners, gained from a number of CDU appointments she has held in Berlin.

This was the decisive factor that prompted the then Mayor of Berlin, Richard von Weizsäcker, to appoint her to the newly-created job.

Her position of responsiblity to the Senate for aliens' affairs leaves her little time for herself, although she says her hobbies are Beethoven's music, reading and visiting the zoo.

She is unmarried but has written a German-language book for the children of foreigners.

One of her most pressing demands is for "swifter progress toward legal equality for young foreigners, who feel more like Germans than Turks."

To the burning question whether foreigners should be admitted into the police force, she replies that she is in favour, "with the proviso that they are prepared to apply for German citizenship at the beginning of their training."

She is of the view that young Berliners of foreign extraction would be interested in this. She said: "In their native countries in many cases the police have a high level of respect."

The association of women citizens voted her Woman of the Year. She has also been awarded the Moses Mendelssohn Prize for her work in promoting tolerance.

A Turkish newspaper named her Guardian Angel of the Turks, rather a cliché but respectful. Among her party political friends she is affectionately known as "Turkish Barbara."

Dieter Dose
(Die Welt, Bonn, 28 January 1988)

■ MODERN LIVING

Cologne woman in charge of Brussels Eurolinguists

The computer printout for the day's programme showing in detail how interpreters, male and female, are deployed at meetings, committees, conferences or Council of Ministers sessions in Brussels or elsewhere is more than five metres long.

Noel Muyelle from Belgium said that only with the aid of a computer could day-to-day operations in the "European Babylon" be controlled.

He is right-hand man and adviser to director-general Renée van Hoof-Haferkamp, who comes from Cologne and is the only woman to have reached the highest rank in the EC Commission in Brussels, A 1.

She heads the EC's Joint Interpreter and Translator Service, used by the Commission, the Council of Ministers, the Economic and Social Committee and the European Investment Bank.

The European Parliament and the European Court of Justice, both located in Luxembourg, have their own interpreter and translator service.

The interpreter and translator department in the EC Commission is made up of 1,526 personnel out of the Commission's total staff of 13,000.

They translate into the nine official languages of the Community, a vital function for the Community's 12 member-states with a total population of 321 million.

Renée van Hoof-Haferkamp has a staff of 535 permanent staff and about 1,400 freelancers. Without exaggeration the Joint Interpreter and Translator Service can be said to be the largest language service in the world.

The "European Babylon" could not function properly without the concentrated experience and know-how of this department, whose activities are not limited to the nine languages of the 12 member-states.

There are Eurocrats or freelancers who can handle Japanese, Chinese, Russian and Arabic.

In addition, 30 years after the European Economic Community was set up, it now has contacts with the entire world. There are 120 countries worldwide that have diplomatic relations with the Community.

The European Community is a lot more than just an international combination of states. Proposals made by the Commission in Brussels and approved by the councils of foreign, finance, agriculture, research, environment and transport ministers have the force of law in member-states and are paramount to the law of the land in each member-state.

This is why all guidelines, regulations, decisions, statements and communiqués have to appear and be available in the Community's nine official languages.

In a recent article in the specialist magazine *Highlights*, the Chinese language expert Wang Nan described the "frustrating problem of working with nine official languages."

Wang Nan has completed a training course of several months' duration in Brussels which gave him an opportunity to study these EC problems in detail at first hand.

In 1978 the European Community and China concluded a trade agreement. This has led to considerable cooperation between the Institute of Languages and the University of International Business and Economics, both in Peking.

The Joint Interpreter and Translator Service cost about DM80m last year. To this can be added the costs for the translation services of the various organs of the EC and the interpreter service of the European Parliament, services that are expensive for taxpayers.

In comparison with other international institutions the EC with its nine official languages for its 12 member-states enjoys an expensive luxury.

The United Nations, for instance, with 159 member states operates in only six official languages, English, French, Arabic, Russian, Spanish and Chinese.

Since 1975 important documents have been translated into German — at the cost of German-speaking UN members.

Nato with 16 member states has only two official languages, English and French. The Paris-based European Space Agency made up of 13 countries also uses only English and French as its official languages, as does the seven-member Western European Union.

This has kept technical and administrative costs at justifiable and comprehensible levels.

There have been any number of proposals and attempts within the EC to reduce the number of official languages. Suggestions that Latin or Esperanto should be the main EC languages have never been taken seriously.

On the other hand many experts are of the view that it would be well worthwhile reducing the number of languages to two or three.

Renée van Hoof-Haferkamp is among those who do not want to see any increased costs for the EC language service. She appeals for "practical solutions in line with real needs."

She means by this that the approach should not be so rigid and that interpreters for all the nine official EC languages should not be on call for every conference and meeting. She would like to see more flexibility. A beginning could be made in the countless committee meetings of experts.

In practice this would mean instead of every representative from every member-state having a say in his or her own language, interpreter service would only be given for two or three languages.

She said that would mean everything would go ahead much more simply. She looks back to the pioneer period of the 1952 European Coal and Steel Community with six founder-members (the three Benelux states, France, Italy and the Federal Republic) when there were only four official languages.

Frau van Hoof-Haferkamp, now head of the Joint Interpreter and Translator Service, was one of the "Europioneers." She was brought to Brussels as an interpreter by the first president of the Commission, the CDU politician Walter Hallstein.

Over the past 30 years she has seen how the jumble of languages has grown ever greater with every extension of EC membership.

In 1973, when Britain, Ireland and Denmark joined the Community, English and Danish were added to the official language list. Three other languages were added when Greece joined in 1981 and Spain and Portugal in 1986.

In April last year Ankara made an application to join the European Community. If the Turkish application were to be successful the "frustrating" language problem would be increased.

Attempts to concentrate on just a few main languages in the EC have foundered not only on the egoism, fears and objections of the smaller states but also on the Federal Republic's attitude.

In German-language circles in Brussels and in Bonn itself it is feared that German would be at a disadvantage faced with English and French.

Renée van Hoof-Hafenkamp believes such fears are wholly unfounded. She said: "It would not mean that any of the EC official languages would be excluded from the interpreters' cabin or at consultations."

She emphasised that if the languages used were reduced to three or four "there would have to be flexibility according to circumstances."

She is worried that because of the lack of interpreters with a deep knowledge of such languages as Greek or Danish, for instance, interpreting is done by a "relay system."

This means that the interpreting is done via a third language, via English for instance, from the original language into another.

She said that this had the disdvantage that even with high-class linguistic proficiency accuracy and originality were lost.

She and her adviser, Noel Muyelle, deny that they are overwhelmed by people seeking jobs. Requirements are extremely high in the interpreter and translator service. An essential qualification is a university degree.

The service not only employs language graduates but also experts from other disciplines, such as economists, lawyers and political scientists who have a good knowledge of languages.

They are trained for translating work in special courses organised by the EC Interpreter and Conference Service.

Interpreter and translator jobs with the EC are very well paid. Renée van Hoof-Hafenkamp said that German students, male or female, who would like to work for the EC, must have complete command of their mother tongue and should learn to speak English, French or Spanish and one of the more unusual EC languages.

If a student has a knowledge of one of the more unusual EC languages the chances of a job are increased for, with the situation as it is at present, it is hard to believe the Community would exclude Greek, Danish or Portuguese from the languages used.

"Euro-Babylon" is still going strong and will remain complicated and expensive.

Hans-Peter Ott
(Kolner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 12 February 1988)

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vidual must at some stage decide if he or she wants German nationality and is prepared to accept the responsibilities of citizenship.

The Swiss said that in view of the population explosion in the Third World and the discussions on asylum in Europe over the past few years the question of integration must be looked at anew.

The Swiss said that it was not a question of whether a person seeking asylum could be absorbed into a country but whether he should be integrated into an industrialised state.

Taking a worldwide view Alexander Casella said that the flow of refugees was regional in character with the result that the poor countries had to pay the most. Only a limited number of Third World refugees made it to the developing countries.

He said that his organisation aimed at quick help in the region, matched with development aid.

The three-day conference in Florence came to the conclusion that only solutions that disregarded frontiers were applicable to the problems of refugees and people seeking asylum which in turn disregarded frontiers.

This meant that in Europe there was an urgent need for harmonisation of regulations dealing with asylum-seekers and refugees.

Efforts should also be made actively to tackle with aid the causes and results of the flow of refugees in other regions of the world.

Lummer said: "In a century of refugees foreign policy has become an issue of home affairs all over the world." The Pakistani ambassador left without a satisfactory answer on what to do with the Afghan refugees in his country.

Primarily because the European participants in the conference were concerned with their own refugee problems.

Annually all the countries of Europe together spend about $3bn on administration and maintenance for refugees.

The Federal Republic is the third-largest contributor, after America and Japan, to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees. Bonn pays into the Commission DM70m per year.

This organisation deals with the international dimensions of the problem. There are roughly 12 million refugees in the world.

Michael Birnbaum
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 12 February 1988)

Warhol

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printing process so that the coloured automobile body shined on the screen-picture in shimmering, shining, sometimes almost flaming outline.

Warhol experiments with the boldest colour combinations. The Benz coupé Mylord dating from 1901 is tomato red on a pinkish background outlined in yellow.

The formula 1 racing car W 196 Stromlinie dating from 1954 is coloured in green on blue with outlines in blazing red.

The same motifs appear in various colour combinations, close up and distant, large and small, more true to life or lost in reverie. In short the character of the motifs alters with the colour.

The whole series is a celebration of change for just twelve various motifs.

But the more intensive everything glows, all the more obvious does Warhol's distance from the whole become, a stance of alienation.

One cannot fail to notice that Warhol is here fêting something that does not belong to him and could not belong to him.

The alien object the car, conjured up in this beauty, was no object of his longing but the expression of an inner incongruity and existential hopelessness.

It's as if he had to make everything as beautiful as possible so that its frightfulness would not be revealed and so that the frightfulness of the car fetish could be banned by the beautiful, disposing of anxiety.

These cars, indeed, are not likely to endanger life. The car has never been so beautiful as here.

Christel Heybröck
(Mannheimer Morgen, 16 January 1988)